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THREE YEARS AMONG

THE WORKING-CLASSES

IN

THE UNITED STATES

DURING THE WAR.

James Dawson Burns.

BY THE AUTHOR OF

"THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF A BEGGAR-BOY."

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PREFACE.

I HAVE been induced to bring this book before the public, that the working-classes of the United Kingdom may have the experience and opinion of one of their own order upon the condition of the people of the United States of America. I have endeavoured to give a true account of the industrial, social, moral, and political state of the people, the circumstances which influence their conduct, and the relation their condition bears to the same classes in Europe. It may be thought that some of my pictures of men and things in the New World are exaggerations; I beg, however, to say that, in my humble opinion, exaggeration of either the people or the country, even by a professional romancist, would be next to an impossibility!

It will be seen that I have not drawn an attractive picture of social life among the working-classes of America, but truth compels me to add a word or two as to the impression made upon me since my return to England, by the condition of the humbler classes in this country, viewed in contrast with those of the United States. The stranger who comes to England

with the impression that he is visiting the richest and most highly civilized country in the world, cannot but be disagreeably impressed with the squalor and intemperance which everywhere meet his sight. In America the socially degraded members of the State form but a small class: human beings in bundles of filthy rags, or creatures steeped in abject poverty, if they exist at all, are rarely to be seen; and though rowdies, rogues, and ruffians hang about lazy corners, and frequent beer-house bars, it is only doing justice to the people to say that these places are not the haunts of female tipplers.

I do not know of any indication that can furnish a better proof of the social comfort of the American people, than the almost entire absence of pawnbrokers' establishments in the large towns. These institutions may be of use occasionally among a struggling people; but there can be no doubt, as a general rule, that their open portals are the high-roads that lead, through the gin-shops, to the destruction, both moral and social, of thousands of the working people of England annually. Perhaps the most uncomfortable matter for reflection in connection with the pawn-shops in Great Britain, arises from the fact that their customers are almost exclusively females, and that the money thus obtained is nearly all spent in intoxicating liquors. In these matters the lower-class Americans are far in advance of the similar class among my own country-people.

Without presuming to speculate on the future of America, I may be permitted to say, that so long as the Constitution of

the United States can be preserved, with honest statesmen to guard the rights and liberties of the people, so long will the country offer inducements to the labouring population of Europe to flock to her shores. Taking the whole of the States, north and south, they comprise nearly three millions of square miles. In this vast and wonderfully diversified territory she could accommodate as many human beings as the Old World could spare in ten thousand years. The resources of the country seem to be inexhaustible, and so long as labour continues in demand, the working man will not only find a profitable field for his industry, but he will be enabled to obtain a social position he could scarcely aspire to in the Old Country.

There are certain physiological features connected with the condition of the Americanized people, which appears to exercise a considerable influence over both their minds and bodies. It is thought by some who have studied the subject, that a constant infusion of strong healthy European blood is absolutely necessary to preserve the conglomerate community of the United States from premature decay. In 1800, the twenty-one States then forming the Federal Union had a population of five millions and a half; since then other twenty-one States have been added, with a population of about twelve millions; in addition to which the Union has been reinforced by, in round numbers, seven millions of immigrants. These numbers when added together will make over twenty-four millions, and it must be borne in mind that the most prolific part of the American community have been her immigrants and her

coloured races. Both the African and Indian blood has mingled with the common stream to a much greater extent than some of the community would like to confess. Let the result of all this be compared with the fact that since the beginning of the nineteenth century Great Britain has added ten millions to her population, notwithstanding the large numbers of her people who have swarmed off both to her own widely scattered colonies and the United States, and the conclusion seems inevitable that America, if left to sustain her own population without immigrants, would prove, in less than a hundred years, how unfit she is to obey one of the first laws of nature.

In Great Britain, men in the lower ranks of society elbow each other out of existence. On the huge continent of America the working-classes find ample room for their energies; and though "the almighty dollar" commands the homage of both the needy and well-to-do members of society, the equality of men in their social relations is a fact which few will call in question. The probability of this state of things continuing for any length of time in a community whose members are continually hunting after new impressions, is not easy to estimate. A short time ago Mr. and Mrs. Sambo were socially damned by the equality and liberty-loving Americans. Matters are different now; these ebony chattels of yesterday have been taken under the brotherly care of a set of Christians, who profess to love them for their very blackness! At present the working-men in the Northern States, though they have neither sympathy

nor fellow-feeling for the coloured race, make no objection to their emancipation, providing they remain south of Dixie's line; but if the slaves are to be really free, they must have the right to dispose of their labour in any market to which they can carry it, and the law, *if strong enough*, will protect them.

The riots which disgraced the city of New York in July, 1863, gave an unmistakable indication of the fate which awaits men of colour in the Northern States, if they are ever found to stand in the way of the white labouring population. It may be supposed that white people have nothing to fear from competition in the labour-market with men of colour; but, from what I have seen, the cross-bred coloured people make as good, if not better, domestic servants than the generality of white helps: they are decidedly more civil, courteous, and better mannered. I have found the attendants in nearly all the hotels, inns, eating-houses, restaurants, and first-class boarding-houses to be of the Sambo family. As waiters they are preferable to the white men; they are quicker in manipulation and less doggedly independent. I have no doubt, however, but that much of their present humility and civil behaviour is forced upon them by the circumstances of their helpless and degraded condition; and if they should ever enjoy social and political power, the worst phases of their character would soon be manifested in a manner peculiar to men who had long suffered persecution by a stronger race. If, therefore, the two peoples should ever be placed in competition upon a principle of equality, so far as social and political rights are in question, a series of mob-storms would

be sure to set in, and the weak would necessarily go to the wall.

I have often heard the nature and condition of the coloured people discussed by my shopmates in America. I have met with a few well-conditioned men who looked upon the blacks as rational beings; but the strongly expressed opinion of the majority was, that they are a soulless race, and I am satisfied that some of these people would shoot a black man with as little regard to moral consequences as they would a wild hog; both the blacks and the Indians are regarded much in the same way by the majority of the American people. A friend of my own, who was in the State of Oregon in 1864, while conversing with a district judge, inquired how he managed the Indians in his service: "Why," said he, "in the first place, we gin 'em gospel; if that won't do, we gin 'em law; and if that won't do, we gin 'em fits!" The sequence here is arrived at by a species of logic that there is no gainsaying.

As a general rule, the people in the North have a lively feeling of dislike to men of colour; but it is in the Irish residents that they have, and will continue to have, their most formidable enemies: between these two races there can be no bond of union except such as exists between the hind and the panther. Slavery may have received its death-blow in the victory of the Northern arm, but the end is not yet. The peace will inaugurate a social struggle which will convulse society from one end of the country to the other.

In reflecting upon the heterogeneous character of society

in America, I have thought that at no very distant period there may be a war of races. The raw material for the late bloody struggle has been made up in no small measure of the Irish element: Irishmen have flocked to the standard of the Stars and Stripes, and their blood has fructified many a battle-field. When, however, the war becomes a matter of history, their services in the time of danger will in all likelihood be forgotten, and in future battles for political power by the contending parties, their own remembrance of the facts will become a fruitful source of party strife. For some time past a society has been in process of formation, the object of which is to reconquer Ireland. This institution is the work of wrong-headed Irish patriots; its ramifications extend over the whole of the States, and I am led to believe that its material power is a reality about which there is no mistake. Though England has nothing to fear from this body, who can say that the machinery which has been called into existence to crush the Anglo-Saxon may not be turned in another direction? Many of the leading politicians in the States have coquetted with this society to obtain their own ends, and when these are accomplished they will cast the Fenians off, and a mutual dislike will be the consequence. As an organized body, the Fenians are not to be treated with contempt; the serio-comic farce of 1848 may be played over again with new accessories on the boards of a very different theatre! There can be no doubt that among them are numbers of well-meaning men, whose strong love of country would impel them to sacrifice both life and fortune for the recovery of

"Ireland for the Irish." These people flatter themselves that "England's difficulty would be Ireland's opportunity:" no idea was ever based upon a more sandy foundation. Should England fall from her proud position among the civilized nations of the world, Ireland would most assuredly share the same fate.

THE AUTHOR.

THE

WORKING MAN IN AMERICA.

CHAPTER I.

THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.

Mixed Character of the Americans—Want of Stamina—Fast Living—Physiological Peculiarities—Prevalent Causes of Indigestion—Quack Medicines—Food of the Working Classes—Boarding-house System—Hotel Life—Demoralizing Influences—Physique of American Women—Artificial Charms—Gluttons at Work—Defect of Sympathy—Every one for himself.

Since the time when Mrs. Trollope exposed the weaker side of what she deemed the bastard civilization of America, the British public has been frequently amused by authors who have described the characteristics of the upper grades of society in that country. All these writers, including Mr. Charles Dickens and Mr. Chambers, may be said to occupy almost the same ground. Authors of distinguished character, and authors altogether undistinguished except for their social training, would alike find themselves obliged to move in select social circles. The great hive of toiling humanity, which in reality constitutes the every-day life of America, would therefore be ignored or only very partially

noticed by such writers. They would find it simply impossible to speak of the working classes, and report their peculiarities from the familiar level of fellowship. Their observations, however keen, would be those of onlookers, compelled to stand aside and see the stream flow past them.

This being the case, the results of my experience as an artisan in this great world of modern civilization, with its mixed breeds of humanity, may not be unacceptable to those of my readers who have never crossed the Atlantic. I may observe, in the outset, that it is a very difficult task for a man with old-world notions and prepossessions to describe the characteristics of society in America with anything like impartiality, in consequence of the widely-diversified character and the incoherence of the materials of which it is composed. The immediate consequence of this condition of the community is the constant intermingling of manners, habits, tastes, and modes of thought of people whose ideas have been formed by means of different languages, and under the influence of various climates, family traditions, and national idiosyncracies. It is for time alone to solve the physiological problem whether the race will improve or degenerate under such conditions; but of one thing we may be certain, a new race of men will be the result, whose history will be unlike that of any other nation, ancient or modern. I am inclined to think that the influence of climate in America upon the physical condition of the people and the amazing amount of mental energy called into action by the pressure of circumstances will eventually cause them to degenerate. There can be little doubt but that continued mental excitement is incompatible with healthy physical conditions. Men were not created to be for ever engaged in running a race of life and death competition with

each other, and if they outrage the natural law, they will sooner or later have to pay the penalty. There is ground for indulging one's imagination in the belief that society on this great continent has, in the far distant past, had its morning of young life, its steady progress to maturity, its heyday of social and intellectual greatness, and its ultimate decay. The condition in which the Spaniards found Montezuma and his industrious subjects seems to prove that that people were either the last remains of a higher state of civilization or that they were progressing towards such a condition.

Strangers on their arrival in America cannot fail to be disagreeably impressed by the almost skeleton forms and sallow complexions of the male portion of the population. Instead of the robust and well-rounded figures and healthy florid faces of the people in merry England, they find a population who might be supposed to have undergone the depleting process of typhus fever. The want of flesh, and the neat-fitting style of dress have the effect of destroying all apparent distinctions of age. Young men appear to the eye of a stranger like boys, and the class of gentlemen whose faces have been corrugated by time wear the jaunty air of youth. There seems to be something in the rapid and ever-changing temperature of the American atmosphere that is opposed to the deposition of adipose matter in the economy of the human body. It is true there are some easy-minded beings who, in spite of the general rule, walk the earth in something like Falstaffian dignity, but the great majority belong to the family of Pharaoh's lean kine. This physiological peculiarity, as contrasted with people of the Old World, is not confined to the meagre forms of Americans, but its effects are equally visible in the restless character of their minds.

But whatever effect the climate may have upon the physical condition of the American people, I think there are other influences which combine to make them what they are. The man who, in Yankee phraseology, has been "raised" in the country, is sure to bolt his food instead of masticating it; and from my own experience I should say that ninety-nine men out of every hundred both chew and smoke tobacco. Time seems to be too fleeting to allow the people an opportunity of eating their meals in a rational manner; their stomachs have therefore to perform both the dental and digestive duties; and when it is borne in mind that the men are continually wasting the saliva which is necessary to make the food yield its nutritious properties by the constant use of tobacco, their sallow complexions and meagre forms may be easily accounted for. Dyspepsia, like an incubus, presses upon the whole of the American people, and, as may readily be imagined, the pill trade is a thriving business. Tonics, too, in the character of bitters (coarse spirits made up with the extract of bitter herbs at one dollar a bottle), are swallowed in immense quantities.

I was much amused by the conversation of two Irishmen who were once working in the same apartment with myself. One of them remarked that an acquaintance of his, who was troubled with "neutreality" in the head, had taken fourteen boxes of Brandrith's pills, and "the divil a morsel of good they've done him." Neuralgia was the disease referred to, no doubt, but the new name answered quite as well. "That's quare," replied his companion; "for just twelve months ago I was saized with a palpitation in my guts (saving your prisence), an' I only tuck five boxes of thim pills, an' bedad they cured me intirely!"

There are two Holloways of pill-manufacturing notoriety in this country—one named Ayers, the other Brandrith. In the year 1856 the great pill-and-ointment autocrat, whose manufactory graces the outside of Temple Bar, London, was paying from 30,000*l.* to 40,000*l.* annually for advertisements alone. I may mention that this gentleman advertises over the whole civilised world, and that his pills and "puffs" may be found in every written language. I cannot so much as form an idea of the expense incurred by the American gentlemen for advertising; but from the great amount of printed matter they circulate, in the form of almanacks and pamphlets containing fictitious testimonials, puffs mixed up with the news of the day, and articles of light literature, their advertising taxes must be no inconsiderable thing. This sort of people are generally designated quacks. The term is an opprobrious one, but, in my opinion, it might just as fairly be applied to a large number of American doctors who have studied their profession sufficiently to misunderstand the nature of diseases and administer wrong remedies. Generally speaking, the pills vended by the great manufacturers are not only the most economical, but as gentle purgatives they are as safe as anything the people can use, who do not themselves understand the application of cheap and simple remedies.

It is not improbable that much of the excitability of the American temperament arises from biliousness, produced by over-wrought stomachs. The food of the people in Great Britain and Ireland is plain, simple, and nutritious; and, as a rule, they take time enough to eat it. In America, as soon as a working man gets out of bed (unless he has to cook his own victuals) he sits down for a few minutes, and fills his poor stomach with coffee, bread and butter, beefsteaks, pork or

mutton chops, sausages, pickles, and buckwheat cakes with molasses. This is the boarding-house mode of stuffing. Those people who have houses of their own may regulate their food to suit their tastes or circumstances. It is to be observed, also, that animal food here, with the exception of pork, is very unlike that of home produce. The mutton is, generally speaking, little better than framework, and if the beef is to be praised at all, the excellent sinew and muscle which it furnished to the living animal must be the theme. In the far west, butcher's meat is much better than in the eastern States, the feeding grounds being of a superior character. The feeding season in the east is of short duration; spring flings its green mantle over the earth in little less than a month, and as soon as the hay is made the grass becomes speedily dried up, and it is not until the rains in the fall revive the vegetation that any good out-door feeding can be found for cattle. Nearly all the oxen, sheep, and swine brought to market in the great cities of the eastern States come by rail from beyond the Alleghany mountains, and, as the distance over which the animals travel is great, they become much depreciated during transit.

Boarding-house life is one of the most marked features of the American social system, and, whatever may be said in its favour, its general tendency is to lower the morals of the people. There are numbers of married men and their wives, holding good social positions, who continually reside in these establishments, and, as a consequence, never know the comforts which surround a quiet and well-ordered domestic hearth. Places of this kind are calculated to produce habits of indolence in young married women. Having no household duties to perform, they pass away the time by lounging over sensa-

tional literature; or, by way of variety, indulge in intrigue; or, if the weather permits, promenade the streets. The class of boarding-houses which has evidently the most dangerous tendency is that which receives both male and female boarders. The licence enjoyed by the inmates of some of these establishments can hardly be spoken of; suffice it to say, that it is of the most accommodating character. Though the young men and women here are better educated than those of the same class in Great Britain, their loose manners and unrestrained habits make it evident that their scholastic training has not produced an elevating influence over their thoughts and actions.

I am aware that many of the American boarding-houses are well conducted, and that they are furnished with comforts, conveniences, and social appliances which people of moderate means cannot command in their private establishments. Not so very long ago I was working for a gentleman in Newark, and having learned that he was residing with his family in a boarding-house, I asked him if he did not feel many restraints of a domestic nature in the house of another person, which he would necessarily be free from in a home of his own. He answered me by saying that "his wife had a hundred relations, and that he had about the same number himself, who, were he in a house of his own, would eat him up in a month, so he found it more economical to board." In these matters a good deal depends upon the fashion and social habits of the people. I must say for myself that no fortuitous circumstances connected with boarding-houses could recompense me for the loss of the quiet and unrestrained enjoyments of my own home, however humble. Hotel life is one prolonged scene of bustle and excitement, and being so, affords a striking proof of the artificial state of society in America among the higher grades,

who avail themselves of its gregarious pleasures. These establishments are capacious in the amount of their accommodation, palatial in their designs, magnificent in their furniture and decorations, and systematically complete in their arrangements; their tables are continually laden with viands to excite the taste of the most fastidious gourmands, while their cellars are stocked with the choicest wines of the Old World. The Englishman who is looked up to as the patriarch of his family and the lord of his own mansion could have no sympathy with the aristocratic hotel boarders in this country; it is true he may have his club in which to meet his friends and enjoy their society, but the members of his family remain in the hallowed precincts of their own home.

While I am writing the rate of boarding for working-men ranges from four to seven dollars a week, and this does not include washing. As a general rule the boarding-house tables are well spread; tea and coffee for breakfast, in the winter hot buckwheat cakes with butter and molasses, plain and fancy bread, fried potatoes, beefsteaks, mutton and pork chops, ham, pickles, and preserved fruits are nearly always on the table. No meal is provided without animal food, and fruit pies are an everyday dish. Pork and beans, and pork and cabbage, are so common in some of the eastern counties that their continual use is enough to make a man ashamed to look a pig in the face. Probably the *cuisine* of the boarding-houses is the great attraction to married people who could never afford such daily bills of fare in their own homes; while young men and women enjoy a freedom of action and opportunities for flirting which they would not be allowed under the immediate care of their parents. These advantages, if they deserve the name, are gained at the cost of all that is

precious in the home affections. Fathers and mothers have the pain of seeing their children fly from home as soon as they are able to work for their own living; and this is so much a matter of course that I have met with several young boys and girls who were boarding in houses only a short distance from their homes. It is quite a common thing for girls who are tired of the monotony of a country life to go to town, obtain employment, take up their residence at first in the boarding-houses and end their career in the streets. No doubt, many of the boarding-house keepers are people of unimpeachable character, but in consequence of the notions of personal liberty and self-sufficiency entertained by young people of both sexes it is next to impossible to exercise anything like a salutary control over their conduct. From what I have witnessed, I have no hesitation in saying that many of these houses are hot-beds of vice and every species of immorality. In fact, the immoral tendency of the system is freely admitted by all intelligent and well-meaning men, and is acknowledged to be a serious blot on the national character.

To return to the physique of the American people with which I commenced this chapter. Whether the phenomena I am about to mention are produced by atmospheric influence, or are the result of social habits I leave my readers to determine. The form of the bust, the perfect condition of the dental machinery, and a goodly crop of hair on the head, have ever been considered requisites to constitute that symmetry and beauty of form in woman which command our love and admiration. It is a painful fact that a large number of American women are as flat across their chests as deal boards. At an early age many of them lose their teeth by decay, and their hair, too, seems subject to a similar destroying

agency. Thanks, however, to the progress of human ingenuity in the arts of civilization these deficiencies can in a great measure be supplied; the elfin locks and love inspiring curl may be created by the magic power of sublimated rags, and the ruby lips of beauty may even be embellished by two rows of pearl. A woman without hair on her head, or enamelled bones in her mouth, is certainly not an attractive being, yet I think the majority of mankind would prefer her with these deficiencies rather than see her wanting in the natural means of nourishing her infant offspring. Defects of hair and teeth can be so far remedied as to satisfy the greedy eyes of the opposite sex, and it is true that pads of all sizes and of the most approved forms are publicly exhibited in the most tempting manner in the windows of the dealers; but in this case, the satisfaction of the eye is not sufficient—"hands off, gentlemen" should be labelled upon them, in order to prevent mistake. Not only in this but in other respects there is a wonderful difference in the personal appearance of many of the females in their undress to that which characterizes them when they are made up to fascinate. Cosmetics, like the genie of Aladdin's Lamp, are calculated to produce pleasing changes to the eyes of the beholder, but their influence upon the skin of the wearer tells a tale of outraged nature which may be seen in the bilious-looking faces of a great number of fashionable belles. Generally speaking, American women are all "scrags" before the term of middle life. The loss of teeth, I believe, may in some manner be accounted for by the too abundant consumption of "sweeties" compounded with phosphate of lime to enhance the profits of the dealers.

I have observed that there are but few of the rougher sex

in America who do not use tobacco in some of its various shapes. The practice, however, of chewing snuff, as being the most delicate and refined method of using this narcotic, has been left to soothe the cogitative leisure moments of the fair. I do not say that the habit of snuff-chewing is practised by any great number of the American ladies, but from what I have seen and learned from credible sources it is by no means an uncommon practice.

"Hurry up" is a phrase in the mouth of every person in the United States who requires expedition in business. This short expression fitly represents the tumbling go-ahead and spasmodic character of all classes of the people. Work, work, and work is the everlasting routine of every day life. In those trades and professions in which men are paid by the piece the application to labour by numbers of the men would almost seem to be a matter of life and death. To say that these people are extremely industrious would by no means convey a correct idea of their habits; the fact is they are selfish and savagely wild in devouring their work. If my reader can imagine a ship's crew almost famished by hunger struggling for the last biscuit it would give no bad notion of the continued craving desire manifested by the men to hurry their work and grasp all they can. In the establishment where I was myself employed there were men making from twenty to thirty dollars a week, and yet, such is the selfishness often engendered by prosperity, they were never satisfied. Many of the boys, to judge from the reckless manner in which they exhaust their physical energies, seem resolved not to be overtaken by old age.

In Great Britain the various communities of the people are in some measure linked together by a bond of human

sympathy. Here it would seem that the people are mere units, and that each atom of humanity exists only for itself. It is true that society is divided and subdivided into a number of religious, social, and political sections, but so far as my experience reaches they are all alike wanting in that mutual kindliness which characterizes the Old World communities. This feeling of cold selfishness may arise from a combination of causes, among which may be mentioned diversity of language, difference of country, and of social habits and religious feelings. I have no wish, however, to make my reader believe that there is no active kindness in the country; to assert this would be a libel upon the people, yet a very small amount of experience among the working classes is sufficient to prove that there is a decided want of that genial warmth which characterizes the conduct of people to each other in the Old World. I am aware that large sums of money are occasionally being collected for benevolent purposes, but it strikes me that there is more of fashion in these matters than a spirit of kindness, and that a feeling of rivalship often prompts to action where charity does not exist; but I shall return to this subject in a subsequent chapter.

The want of consideration for men's feelings and sentiments is one of the leading traits in the American character. This I look upon as a consequence arising out of that system of equality which reduces every man to the level of every other man. Those quiet and unobtrusive virtues which command for their possessors the esteem and respect of their fellow-men in European communities, are of small consideration in this country. Men whose only ambition is to "live while they live," care little for the opinions of their neighbours, and those who look forward to the attainment of social

position as their chief good, do not trouble themselves much as to the means they employ in seizing hold of the almighty dollar. During the last forty years the "make a spoon or spoil a horn" philosophy, has prevailed in Great Britain to a very considerable extent among all classes of traders, the rapid progress of civilization has developed a craving for luxurious appliances, and as the pride of the people has increased, their notions of honesty have relaxed. It is, therefore, nothing strange that commercial morality should sit lightly upon American traders, when it is known how many among their number left their fatherland for reasons which left them but little choice in the matter.

CHAPTER II.

THE LABOURING POPULATION—IRISH AND GERMANS.

Predominance of the Irish and German Element in the Industrial Ranks —Improved Social Position of the Irish—Superior Manners of the Younger Generation—Position of German Immigrants—Irish Parentage of Judge Lynch—Ruffianism and Bombast—The dignity of Labour in the United States ; its real Cause—Equality not a Principle—Growing Prevalence of Class Feeling—Influence of Dress—Independence a Fiction—Frequent Change of Employment—Tyranny of Classes—Rarity of Friendship among Americans—Disregard of the Home Affections—Savage Dogmatism of Working Men—Character of German Working Men—Contempt of the Younger Generation for their Parents—Freedom of Unmarried Girls—Vulgar Ostentation of the Prosperous.

Though society in New York is made up of almost every nationality on the face of the earth, the Irish and German elements are by far the most predominant. "Schenck" and "Shaughnessy" represent the plodding Teuton and the impulsive Celt, over the portals of lager-beer saloons and whisky stores, in all the leading thoroughfares, from the back slums in the vicinity of the wharves to the pave on the Broadway, where Republican "big bugocracy" sports its jewels, silks and drapery. America may be looked upon as a sort of promised land for the children of ould Ireland. After coming here, if they do not get milk and honey in abundance, they are able, at all events, to exchange their national "male of potatoes" for plenty of good substantial food;

their mud cabins and clay floors with fires on the hearth, for clean, comfortable dwellings with warm stoves and "bits of carpits on their flures." It is worthy of note how the more prudent and industrious class of Irishmen succeed in the different walks of life, when they are favoured with a fair field for the exercise of their genius and industry. In New York there is scarcely a situation of honour or distinction, from the chief magistrate down to the police, that is not filled by a descendant of some Irishman who lived in savage hatred of England beyond the pale! The mere labouring Irish, like those of the same class at home, may be seen engaged in all the humbler occupations from shouldering the hod to rag-gathering, but in whatever business they may be employed, they have a decided advantage over their compeers in the old country—as they are sure to be remunerated in such a way as enables them to live comfortably, so far at the least as food and clothing are concerned. One of the principal trading branches of business in which Irishmen are generally successful, is that of the liquor store line, a trade which the Irish and Germans may be said to divide between them. As the body is composed of a large number of members, its influence in a political point of view is a matter of no small importance during elections, whether for municipal authorities, state officers, or presidents.

The rapid transformation effected both in the manners and personal appearance of the young members of the Celtic family after arriving in this country, even for a short time, if located in any of the large cities, is well worthy of notice. Instead of the indolent deportment, careless manner, and slouching gait, which characterized him at home, the young Hibernian receives the genteel inspiration of fashion, and

speedily has himself tailored into external respectability; he learns to walk with his head erect, and assumes an air in keeping with his altered condition. That crouching servility and fawning sycophancy to people above his own grade, which made him a slave in all but the fetters, is cast aside, and he dons the character of a free citizen of the United States. Still, whatever change time or circumstances may effect in improving the social condition of Irishmen, whether from the South or "black North," the idiosyncracies of their race cling to them as broad distinguishing features from all the other members of the human family. It is not wonderful that the Irish peasant at home, should contract indolent and careless habits. As a cotter or small landholder, his tenure is uncertain, his means of living precarious, and when he has an opportunity of plying his industry, the miserable remuneration he receives is not sufficient for his limited wants. Generally speaking, there is much shrewdness and common sense in his character as well as a fund of ready wit: these traits, however, are frequently mingled with the traditions of his country, by which the wrongs of centuries are kept fresh upon his memory, and as he broods over the past, he carefully nurses feelings which bode no good to those he esteems his oppressors.

There is a wide difference between the social condition of an Irish labourer in the United States and that of one of his own class at home. If at all industrious he can do more than supply his enlarged wants. He has now a motive to exert his energies, and what is of no small consequence to himself as a man, he is free from those numerous petty tyrannies and that serfdom which ancient feudalism has interwoven through the whole social system of his native country.

He finds in his new home that the "rank" is not so much a thing of the "guinea stamp" as it is in the "*ould counthry*," and though he earns his living by labour he feels he is "a man for a' that," nor is he obliged to bend before some proud son of fortune and "beg for leave to toil." The new condition of social existence in which Irishmen find themselves after having undergone the process of initiation in the new world is a matter which few take the trouble to inquire about; it is sufficient that their means of living is improved by the change. Mere labouring men seldom possess any thing like clear notions of political economy, they are therefore not aware that labour is regulated by natural laws—that when work is plentiful men will not only be required, but they will be esteemed in proportion to their scarcity.

The improved condition of Irishmen in America does not make them forget the soil made sacred to them by the graves of their fathers and the memories of their early loves and youthful aspirations, when they knew no other land. The records of the money-order office will form a lasting memorial of the industry, prudence, filial duty, and affection of thousands of the sons and daughters of the Green Isle, who have nobly aided their relations to escape from the bondage of poverty, and unite their fortunes and affections in their new homes.

Much of the development of the great natural resources of America during the last forty years is no doubt owing to the energy and industry of the Irish and German settlers. These two races of the human family are vastly different from each other in nearly all the aspects and phases of their social characters. The German is plodding, frugal, and cautious; he is quiet, too, and seldom commits himself by noisy demon-

strations. In his adopted country he enjoys both social and political liberty, and is proud of the dignity his citizenship confers; these advantages were denied to him in his father-land, and he uses them in his new home with becoming discretion. The Tutonic family is largely wedded to the soil in all the agricultural districts, from the eastern seaboard to the far west. Many, however, are engaged in commercial pursuits, and a goodly number ply their industry in various branches of skilled labour.

Irishmen are not less industrious than Germans, but they lack the caution and frugality of the latter, and their easily excited feelings and impulsive nature frequently lead them into difficulties, and subject them to disagreeable notice from their neighbours. The deep-rooted prejudices of early training, and the narrow, often bitter, feelings engendered by faction and sectarian associations are the means of keeping alive a spirit of antagonism both among themselves and strangers. If there is a quarrel Irishmen are the first in it, and the last to forget the cause of it, the natural generosity of their character contrasting strangely with their vindictiveness of feeling under even trifling wrongs. Though it is admitted that Irishmen are among the most useful of the industrial members of the community in this country, yet they are not esteemed by the natives with anything like feelings of real friendship. Generally speaking the former are jealous of both their nationality and religious opinions being made the subjects of remark. There is one sentiment, however, in which the two parties cordially agree. Native Americans and immigrant Irish both alike hate England, and no opportunity is allowed to pass in which the memory of Irish wrongs and English tyranny is not stirred up to anger.

Crime against the person in America by Irishmen is marked by much the same characteristics as at home; the same notion of savage justice and false feeling of personal dignity impel them to set themselves above the law by becoming the avengers of their real or supposed wrongs. "Lynch" is evidently of Irish parentage; the justice of passion needs no jury, and Mr. Lynch, after having killed or maimed his man, flatters himself that he has done a manly act. This ready recourse to personal violence in America is a continual outrage upon the feelings of the well-disposed. The ruffianism which prowls about the purlieus of all the large cities frequently exhibits its malicious effrontery in the highest tribunals of the country. It is rather a curious anomaly that men holding high social positions, and claiming to be first in the ranks of civilization, should so far forget the respect they owe to themselves and the courtesy due to each other as to mingle their gravest deliberations with personal squabbles and vulgar abuse. Added to this unseemly conduct, buncum, braggadocia, and inflated bombast characterize no little of the oratory and patriotic effusions of public men in the United States.

Though labour as a profession is more dignified in America than in the old country, it must be borne in mind, as slightly alluded to above, that this circumstance instead of resulting from a more exalted state of civilization is entirely owing to the unlimited demand there is in the country for industry. The immense tracts of land in the possession of capitalists would be of little or no more use than waste common were it not for the aid of the husbandman; where, therefore, the soil is made to yield up its fruits over so large a field the riches of the earth necessarily call

forth other branches of industry. During the present century, in consequence of the great amount of agricultural produce annually brought into the market, other branches of industry have been stimulated, by which the material wealth of the nation has been developed and private fortunes rapidly made.

While the great body of the people were fighting the battle of life upon a new soil, and laying the foundation of the national prosperity, and while the constitution under which they lived recognized no other social distinction than that of good conduct, the man of industrious habits was evidently the most useful member in society; and, though he lived by toil, he was equal to any member in the community. In consequence of industry being so well rewarded, and so many fields of unexplored riches inviting adventurous speculators, vast numbers of men from the ranks of the working classes have accumulated princely fortunes. This class of fortune's favourites are continually swelling the number of a new social order. The independent, equal, and familiar relation which masters and men were wont to bear to each other is daily assuming a more exclusive character; the moneyed men will not be content with the mere value in labour for their cash; they must have that respect, or outward show of it which their wealth demands. It is quite in keeping with all human experience that this should be so. Men value money for two things: in the first place, it ministers to their creature comforts, and in the second, it gives them power, both socially and morally. I am not one of those who discover the spirit of tyranny in the upper grades of society only. Whether I look up or down I find men with the same passions, feelings, and affections, and I know that

all men are less or more self-willed, and, therefore, arbitrary. Tyranny in every form is bad, but I have no hesitation in saying the tyranny of unreasoning passion is the worst of all. False notions of personal independence entertained by a large number of the working classes in America have frequently been the cause of much heart-burning between themselves and their employers, and this more particularly in the case of domestic servants. I may remark here that during the last forty years the altered circumstances of society, the development of new tastes and social habits among all classes, have been the means of breaking down many of the old distinctions which marked the different grades of the community in Great Britain as well as in America. The change in the manners of the times is owing in a great measure to modern equality of dress, for the outward covering has a strange influence over the human mind. This, however, arises more from the fact that poverty is generally accepted as a social degradation than from any real value in the garments that a man may happen to wear.

There is a fashion, however, which regulates men's actions in their intercourse with each other no less than the quality and cut of their dress. The age of Republican simplicity and homely manners is in a transition state, and ere many years pass away the distinction between the different grades of society will be as marked, if not more so, than in the old regions of titled nobility. Those silent laws which operate upon society in its progress of civilization are as certain as the power of gravitation, and men's manners are changed with the current of events without any seeming effort of their own.

If the members of society in America who constitute the employers and the employed would always act with fairness

and honesty to each other, the present system of equality which governs their conduct would be highly commendable, but the misfortune is, that the independence of both parties is fictitious. When trade is in a prosperous state the workmen, as a general rule, have little or no regard for the interest of their employers. Under these circumstances, many of them keep shifting from one workshop to another, and that, too, without any seeming cause; but when trade collapses, their independence, like Paddy the Piper's music, flies up to the moon. One of the consequences arising from this condition of things is that the employers have no friendly regard for their workmen, and merely treat them as tools when they have occasion for them. In my opinion the only independence a working man can possess is that which restrains him from doing a mean or disreputable action—all other independence assumed either by men or their employers is an empty sound.

Nothing can afford a better proof of the scarcity of working men in the United States than the number of young men who keep flying from one business to another, few of whom ever serve any apprenticeship. By this means large numbers of men beyond the age of maturity are enabled to become masters of trades, who, had they remained in the old country, could never have had such opportunities of bettering their social condition. It may be inferred from this that, unlike the old country with its trade guilds, all branches of business are free and open. Human liberty, however, is only a comparative term. Although this is the land of freedom *par excellence*, there are many occasions when men are not allowed to sell their labour to their own advantage without the certain prospect of a visit from some of the members of the

Lynch family. The battle of labour and capital is frequently being fought here between associated bodies of men and their employers with all the acrimony and ill-feeling which selfishness and blind passion dictate. It is but a short time since the labourers employed at the docks in New York turned upon a number of coloured men and maltreated them in a most cruel manner because they presumed to sell their labour in the same market. It would seem to me one of the first principles of social liberty that men should possess the right to dispose of their labour in any way by which they might better their condition; but with the working men as with the strong in all other grades of society might is right where self-interest sits in judgment.

If men are justified in taking their labour to distant countries where the demand is greater than at home, it follows as a matter of fairness that while they are endeavouring to better themselves, they should not meddle with the rights of others who are acting upon the same principle. As a general rule, employers, whether in the United States or elsewhere, are acted upon by much the same motives in the management of their affairs as the workmen; and they are often regardless of the interests of their own class and jealous of competition. It will thus be seen that the working man who comes to America to sell his labour will have many of the very same difficulties to contend with which he has left at home. As I have already observed, however, the labour market is more open for him here, and, if sober and industrious, with continued health, he may save money.

There is one circumstance in the condition of a stranger in this country which ought not to be lost sight of—and that

is, the isolation in which he is almost sure to find himself. Men here form so many atoms in a mass, in which all individuality (with few exceptions) is swallowed up. The social machine is a great working power deriving little or no impulse from kindly feeling. That human sympathy which is ever a balm to grief, and which seldom fails to soothe men's minds in sorrow or misfortune, may exist, but as far as my observation goes, it is rarely either felt or seen among the working classes in America. I have conversed with men who have been in the country for several years, and who avowed that they never knew what it was to have a friend in the proper acceptation of the term, since they landed. Men may work together for months or years, and when they part and meet again they will "How d' do?" each other; but with this their interest in each other ends. While I am writing I have been nearly three years in the country, and during that time have never associated with a single being (if I leave my shopmates out of the question during hours of labour) beyond my own family. Nor from what I have observed of the people, do I see how it could be otherwise. The home feelings which conduce to the happiness of private families, and the kindness of disposition which they beget, are, as I have shown in the previous chapter, by no means common in America. If the members of private families are without affection for each other, it is not likely that friendship can form a bond of union in a community so reared.

One of the worst features in the character of the working classes is their savage dogmatism while discussing even ordinary subjects. There are three topics which form the stock in trade of both men and women in the workshops.

These are country, religion, and politics. Many a little storm of passion is raised by these simple nouns; and though their discussion leads to angry and uncharitable feeling the battle never ceases.

In the course of a conversation I had with a fellow tradesman, a German, I asked him if he could not live as comfortably by his labour at home as he could do in America?

"Yah," he replied, "ven I vas at hom I had more closh un more pleasures den I have here; in dis contrie is all de while going round for vork, in my contrie 'tish diffrents—ve stay all the whiles in one place."

"Why did you leave?"

"I no like to be the soger, so leaves un travels on de Continent."

"Did you work at your own trade in many of the European towns?"

"Yah; I vorked in Bremen, un Strausborgh, un Hamborgh in Shermany. I vorked in Varshaw in Poland, in Bucharest, Walachia, un in Smyrna; den I go to California, and stay dare tree year."

"You were at the gold digging there?"

"Yah!"

"Did you make money while in California?"

"I makes seven hondred dollars, den I coms here un loss it all."

I have met with several Germans in my own business who had travelled over a great part of Europe; some of them had been in Australia, all had found their way to California, and, after varied fortunes, landed in the United States. My friend above was a Prussian German. I inquired if the Prussians enjoyed social and political liberty to any-

thing like the same extent the people in America did? He said that the people held the franchise by a property qualification; that men could follow any business they thought proper, and move from one place to another when it suited them.

"Dat," he observed, "is more den de peoples in Oustria can do; if a man is de hatter, de tailor or de shoemacker he must no change his business to any oder. Un ven de stranger coms into de contrie he most not do business unless he buy property. In Prussia de Government is above de priests, in Oustria de priests is above de Government, dat is bad, de priest no good ven he be boss." In some of the petty German States the social liberty of the people is hedged in by very arbitrary restrictions. In some of them a young man cannot share his responsibility with a female unless he obtains the sanction of the State authority; in others he must possess, either in his own right or through his intended wife, as much money as will purchase a certain amount of property in order to prevent their offspring from becoming chargeable to the State. This law is certainly very likely to be annoying to young people with fiery affections, large hopes, and small cash; but I think it only betrays a prudent foresight on the part of the Government to see that young people are not yoked in matrimonial traces merely for their own amusement. I remember when no well conducted young woman ever thought of marrying until she had provided bed and bedding, these being mostly the work of her own hands, besides a chest of drawers, and a sufficient quantity of pottery and glass to fill a small cupboard. In Germany some of the State laws merely provide conditions which custom and prudence had made a part of the social system both in Scotland and the

north of England sixty years ago. The law, however, which binds a man to a trade or profession for which he may neither have taste nor capacity is opposed to both right and common sense in all countries where human progress has anything like freedom of action: the old maxim of the "shoemaker sticking to his last" has very properly been kicked out of the way.

I find there are two reasons that induce large numbers of the German people to leave their homes—the conscription is the first, and the low standard of wages the second. When the unskilled labourer arrives in America he finds himself placed on a level with the citizen who has passed a probation in learning a trade, and by becoming a citizen he is enabled to enjoy those social, religious, and political privileges which were denied him in his own country.

Those emigrants who come to the country in early life very soon become Americans in feeling, manners, and habits, but as a general rule it is very different with men who are advanced in years. Their thoughts, modes and habits have been fixed, they cannot, therefore, reconcile themselves to the new order of things without doing violence to their feelings. Young people on coming to America, if at all willing to labour, find two of the principal objects of their ambition in abundance; these are food and clothing, and what is more they find themselves on a level with those classes in society they were wont to look up to in their own country. People in years do not "live by bread alone," and they only value clothing for the comfort it gives the body, the quiet pleasures and enjoyments resulting from a friendly intercourse with kindred spirits is to them as rain is to the parched earth. It may be that the members of upper grades of society in

America mingle with each other in friendly intercourse, in which the warmth of the heart and the purity of thought are not subdued by conventionalities, and if so, it is well, but from what I have seen and felt, down below all is cold, unnatural, and formal. It is a fact that numbers of people in humble positions in this country, after having made a little money, become starched with foolish pride; they are not contented to enjoy the goods the gods have sent them in a rational manner; they must assume the airs of gentility, in the doing of which they make fools of themselves. The following is a case in point.

A friend of mine visited a young woman at her father's house; the family were in comfortable circumstances for working people, and what they possessed was the produce of honest industry. The head of the house was a mason's attendant, who had long been familiar with the hod. The table these people spread and the dinner appliances produced could only have been looked for in the house of a family of considerable social standing in Great Britain; in fact there was nothing wanting to make the service complete but finger glasses, and I have observed generally that where there are daughters in a family, every effort is made to give them a character of gentility by the ostentatious display of fine furniture and expensive dress. This man's girls, like many others of the same class, had left him a thousand years behind them in their ideas of civilization, and as a proof of their notions of good manners and superior breeding, not one of them opened their refined jaws to the old man during dinner lest he should affront them by his "mane manner of spache." It is very probable that the old gentleman never saw a three-pronged fork in his life before he left home, and that if he had been

invited to dine in a room with a carpet on the floor he would have shown his sense of propriety in much the same way an old Scotch farmer did upon an occasion while dining wi' his laird. Fifty years ago it was a common practice even in the houses of people of high social standing to have their potatoes dished up with their jackets on; the old farmer in question while dining with his landlord, instead of putting his potato skins on the table, quietly deposited them on the elegant Turkey carpet, by the side of his chair; the good lady of the house, seeing the delicacy of his feelings to avoid soiling the table-cloth, requested him not to give himself any trouble by throwing the peelings on the floor, and just put them on the table. "Na, na," said he, "I'm no gaun to file the braw table claeth," so he plied his thumb-nail to the work, and continued to drop the potato skins on the carpet.

Many of the old country people who, by lives of frugality and long years of toil, have placed themselves in comparatively comfortable circumstances, and who have families, particularly daughters, must often feel sadly annoyed at their pride and upstart airs of gentility. In many cases where there is a trial of strength between the young American offshoots and their old country fathers and mothers, modern gentility is almost certain to come off triumphant. Well, the old people console themselves by the comfortable reflection that their young folks are just like other people's bairns. Not a few of the mothers who have raised daughters in America (every thing from peaches to people are raised here), and who passed their own spoony probation in the old country, may well stare at their girls with the "fellows" as they undergo the process of ascertaining each other's affections. The American wooers are not like the shy retiring beaus in

the Old World, while making their essay in love-making; the boys must not only have free access to the girls, but their affections must be stimulated by partaking of such good things as the house can afford. The fact is, shyness, delicacy, or modesty, on the part of either the young men or women are matters with which they are not troubled.

Rivalship both in furniture and fine dress among the newly manufactured Americans is often highly amusing from the incongruity of both taste and judgment displayed in their selection; as is often the case, neither adaptation, proper arrangement, nor harmony in colours, are matters of consideration. It is enough that gaudy and expensive "fixings" silently inform the visitors of the good taste and respectability of their owners. So far as the morality of the thing is in question, I really do not know whether, if I had the choice, I should prefer the drunkenness produced by personal vanity arising from a love of dress, or that effected by the use of intoxicating liquors—both are contemptible vices. The inordinate love of finery which has prevailed of late years on both sides of the Atlantic has for some time been producing its natural consequences, that of narrowing women's matrimonial chances. Men of prudent habits and limited means have a wholesome fear of selfish wives with expensive inflated dresses.

CHAPTER III.

THE PRESS—ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE—PUBLIC OPINION.

Sensational Character of the Press in America—Offensive Advertising—Military Correspondence of the *Herald*—Other Leading Papers of New York—Newspaper Articles the Cause of much Mischief during the War—Promulgation of False News—Inhumanity of American Journalism during the War—The Religious Press—Personal Liberty a Misnomer—Ready Resort to Violence—Cheapness of Human Life—Corrupt Administration of the Law by Partisan Magistrates and Judges—Instances of Injustice and Successful Violence—Low Class Appointments to Judicial Offices—American Barristers—Ill Consequences arising from the Disregard of Real Distinctions between Man and Man—Prevalent Self-conceit of Americans—Looseness of Religious Associations—Trading Politicians—American Vanity and Hatred of England—Naturalized Foreigners—Want of a Sound Public Opinion—The Devil among the Clergy—Intemperance the Vice of Recent Settlers—Proofs of the Degradation of Judicial Appointments.

I do not remember the name of the writer who made use of the expression, "Show me the songs of a people and I will tell you their character." May not the same test, by which to discover the character of a people, be applied to the newspaper press of a nation? The difference between the broadsheets in America and those of Great Britain is as decidedly marked as are those of the leading features of the people in the two countries. The American press is characterized with but few exceptions by a want of dignity in style—a loose tone

of morality, and an ever ready willingness to pander to the pride of the people, who never think so well of themselves as when something ill is being said about other nationalities. Nearly all the papers have a puffing, playbill appearance, caused by the free use of sensational headings in the news columns. The manner, too, of getting up is slovenly, and in many instances the impressions are so bad that the matter is not legible; this, of course, arises either from the use of worn-out types or carelessness in printing.

The English newspaper press, no doubt, has its faults, but it is a rare thing for its conductors to condescend to personalties and vulgar abuse. If the conduct of public men is subjected to criticism, it is done in a manner the least offensive to good taste. The follies and shortcomings of the people are remonstrated against, their virtues praised, but they are never flattered at the expense of the people of other countries. Many proprietors in England bring disgrace upon the press by polluting the columns of their papers with objectionable advertisements, but I observe that there are many advertisements inserted here which would not be admissible in even the lowest class of British papers. I have elsewhere given specimens of advertisements which constantly grace the columns of the *Daily Herald*, by means of which the big knave assists the little ones to rob the people. Bennet knows that the whole brood of astrologers and spirit-rapping seers are scoundrels, and live by gross deception. During the war he inaugurated a new style of puffing, by which to enhance the sale of his paper. If an officer in the army or navy obtained a trifling advantage over the enemy, presto! his biography graced the pages of this Yankee broadsheet. It is said that these literary productions were kept cut and dried

ready to hand, and only required to be removed from their pigeon-holes to the "case" when occasion demanded their publication.

The proprietor of the *Herald* spares no expense in obtaining the earliest information relative to all matters of public interest, and though many of the editorials are the merest bosh, the papers furnished by its correspondents are generally well written and prove their authors perfectly *au fait* to the business in hand. The descriptions of battles and military movements by some of the army correspondents are highly graphic, and are often creditable both to the heads and hearts of the writers. I do not know what truth there may be in the statement, but I have heard it said that as much as 500*l.* has been paid in one day for telegrams by this journal. There can be no question but that the expense of conducting such an establishment, with its machinery scattered over the world, is exceedingly great. Since the conclusion of the war, the *Herald* has made a statement on the subject to the following effect:—"During the last four years," says the editor, "we have employed between thirty and forty, and sometimes more, war correspondents, including the army and navy. They have been attached to army corps, departments, head-quarters, and at every point on sea or land where the services of a special correspondent could be of advantage to the public. Our army correspondents have, on an average, used up or had captured one or two valuable horses each. The whole cost of this war correspondence establishment reached during the rebellion a sum of nearly *half a million of dollars.*"

The leading journals in New York are the *Herald*, the *Tribune*, the *Times*, the *Evening Post*, the *Journal of Commerce*, the *Courier*, and the *Enquirer*. The *Daily Herald*

stands at the head of the American newspaper press; its issue is estimated at 100,000; that of the *Tribune* at 60,000; and the *Times* about 40,000. I believe all these papers stereotype their daily editions; these forms save both the trouble and expense of setting up matter for weekly and semi-weekly papers, which are issued from the same offices. The *New York Ledger*, which is solely occupied by light literature, stands far ahead of all other periodicals of its class: it is said to have reached the unprecedented circulation of 500,000 weekly. The *Independent*, with the twofold character of a religious and political journal, supplies its readers with a weekly issue of about 80,000 copies. *Harper's Magazine*, which seems to be the only periodical of note of its class in the country, has a circulation of at least 200,000 monthly. From what I have seen of this magazine, its literary character contrasts very unfavourably with the most unpretending periodicals of the same class in Great Britain.

From the commencement of the unholy struggle between the North and South, I am satisfied that the newspaper press was the cause of much and serious mischief. Facts have been distorted, actions and opinions misrepresented, men in power maligned, and, to make the foe contemptible, he has been characterized as a ferocious and relentless savage. The minds of the people have been kept in a continual state of unhealthy excitement. At one time a general is in league with the enemy, another is reckless in the waste of human life; one class of editors laud the administration for its wisdom, energy, and general statesmanlike qualifications; another set of newspaper Solons accuse the members of Mr. Lincoln's staff as being a set of selfish, designing knaves, each of whom is looking after his own little plans of ambition

or self-aggrandizement. The army correspondents belonging to some of the newspapers regularly supply their employers with STUFFING obtained from stragglers at the tail of the army. As may be supposed, much of this sort of information is coloured to suit the purpose of the informants. There is a most extraordinary pliability about the press. Lee and his army were again and again annihilated before the actual success of the Northern arms; Fort Sumter was taken at least a dozen times; Vicksburg fell five times, and the "Stars and Stripes" flaunted proudly on the ramparts of the Southern capital upon two occasions before the fact actually occurred. Stonewall Jackson had the honour of being killed at least half a dozen times; and poor Davis was dead and damned more than once for the edification of the peace-loving public. At the time I am writing, the country is represented to be on the eve of a war with Mr. Bull, and the anti-English feeling of the people is stirred up to boiling-point. Then we have long laboured essays upon the ties of sympathy which unite the Republicans of America with the Autocrat of All the Russias, and *his free and independent happy serfs*. A similarity of social condition, feeling, sentiment, and ultimate destiny is clearly proved to exist in the national fortunes of these two great nations, and the rest of the civilized world is thrust into a nut-shell. It is worthy of remark that, although the greatest sacrifice of human life the world ever witnessed was being offered upon the altar of ambition, no expression of human sympathy, no word of sorrow was ever known, so far as I am aware, to stain the purity of a Yankee broadsheet! The conductors of the press, however, are sensibly alive to the promptings of patriotism and pocket, and while misery and unspeakable suffering was

overwhelming millions of human beings and leaving their homes scenes of desolation, they published their heartless sensational bulletins in order to draw the cents from their news-reading patrons. The great point during the war seems to have been to keep the vanity of the people alive by the report of victories, however certain they were to be converted into defeats. Indeed, there is nothing connected with the army, its commanders, or the operations of the enemy, that the newspaper press has not turned into *pie*. It was amusing and strange to observe that every one seemed to have implicit faith in the press, and yet not one man in a hundred believed its information, unless officially corroborated. When a report of any particular event had to be contradicted, the correspondent was made the scapegoat, and the infallible editor justified himself by pretending to quote remarks from a previous issue of his paper—*remarks which were never made*.

If we look *up* to the religious press, we find piety, providence, and petty profits, with quack advertisements of the vilest kind, jumbled up together in a happy family sort of association. Ministers and monsters are puffed, and dogmatism and humility join in anathematizing nonconforming sinners. If men want godly zeal and undying hatred to nourish their piety, let them read the American religious press.

The idea attached to personal liberty in the United States by many of the people is of the most selfish character. They esteem liberty so long as it squares with their feelings or interests; but an equality of social liberty is a thing which they either cannot or will not understand. The liberty which is the boasted right of every American citizen is but too often a sad misnomer, inasmuch as it is liable, from the most

trifling circumstance, to run into the seed of tyranny and associate itself with brute force or low cunning. If one man call another in question for the correctness of any statement he may make in conversation, it would be nothing unusual for the party questioned to prove the truth of his assertion with the unanswerable argument of a knife or a revolver! The man who voluntarily proffers his opinions, or even states facts which may be unpalatable to his hearers, must be prepared to defend himself, not against argument, but against the logic of brute force.

One evening, when returning home from my work, I came in contact with a number of schoolboys, who were in the act of exciting two of their party to a pugilistic encounter. While the lads were making ready, one of their companions handed his friend a large clasp knife, with the blade open, and told him "to give him that!" I took the knife from the youth, and told him that none but the vilest cowards could make use of such a weapon; the boys thought no shame about the matter, so I left them to settle their difference as best they could. I can assure my readers that it is by no means a prudent thing for a man who sets any value on the soundness of his eyes and limbs to interfere with these youngsters. I have known more than one instance in which even elderly men have been recompensed for their advice with a severe chastisement.

Generally speaking, human life is held at a very cheap rate in this land of freedom, and as a consequence disputes of the most trivial nature are often settled by the use of the most deadly weapons. During my residence in New York there was not a week in which one or more victims were not sacrificed to a lawless vindictiveness, arising out of false

notions of personal liberty and upstart pride. This sort of cowardly ruffianism is by no means confined to the vile horde of loafers and swaggering rowdies, who, like so many moral lepers, infest all the large towns. Men of high social position are not ashamed to have recourse to the same unmanly method of settling their microscopic disputes when they feel their fancied dignity assailed. It is not strange that savage justice should exist among the uncivilized tribes of the human family, whose code of honour constitutes "might right;" but that the club of the barbarian should be allowed to push aside the arm of justice among men who make a boast of their high civilization indicates a very anomalous state of society. I believe the law in the United States, both common and statute, to be as perfect as in any European state; but, unfortunately, its administration here is frequently entrusted to men who are either grossly ignorant or thoroughly unprincipled. Many of the men who hold judicial situations are the mere creatures of the faction in power, and as the mainspring of all their actions is mercenary, their rule is to non-suit the defendants in all the cases brought before them unless they are members of the same clique. As instances of the even-handed justice of men of this class, take the following cases:—

A woman had a man summoned who was the joint occupant with herself of a small garden-plot, for stealing a handful of parsley; the action fell to the ground for want of proof, there being no witness in the case. Instead of a non-suit, which should have been the legitimate result, the defendant was fined and cast in costs; and not being in a condition to comply with the honest decision of this modern Solon, he was sent to prison.

Again, a dissipated scoundrel went into a beer saloon a

short time ago, in a town of New Jersey, and because the proprietor would not supply him with what drink he required without cash, he quietly walked into the street and smashed every pane of glass in the window; and being summoned, his fine was mitigated at the request of the plaintiff. A few days after he called at the same saloon with an evident evil intention, and as he would not leave quietly after being called upon to do so, the proprietor pushed him to the door. He then went and swore an assault against the man he had injured, and although it was known to the court that this man was a common blackguard, the publican was fined in the sum of forty dollars, which, with the expense of defending himself, made a sum total of seventy dollars.

More striking, perhaps, than either of these cases is that of a trial for murder, in which it was found necessary to empannel 1,000 men, in order that twelve honest jurors might be found to do their duty in giving an impartial verdict. This case may be cited as an illustration of the manner in which justice is tampered with, and the best feelings of the people outraged.

In the early part of 1865, a porter-house keeper in New York, of the name of Friery, called with three friends at the house of a Mr. Lazarus, who was in the same business: the time was about two o'clock in the morning. It may be remarked that the man Friery was a notorious loafer and a reckless ruffian, but he was also a political tool—much of the same stamp as one of our old electioneering bludgeon men, ready at any time to crack skulls either by the day or the piece.

When Friery went into the house of his friend Lazarus it was with a bland and smiling face. Going up to him he held

out his left hand, saying, "Lazarus, yer a nice little fellow;" and while in the act of shaking hands he stabbed his man in the neck with a stiletto which he had secreted in his right hand. After giving this man his death wound, he quietly retired, saying as he did so, with the blade of the dagger still reeking with the warm blood of his victim, "Lazarus, yer a nice little fellow, but I think I have done for you." This foul and dastardly murder was witnessed by at least six people. The proof of the murder both as to time and place was not questioned. Why, then, was this man not made to pay the penalty which the law demanded? In the trial the court made quite a sensational exhibition of it with its thousand citizens out of which to select twelve men who could afford to carry a conscience, and a gathering of all the leading ruffians of New York. Whether the presiding judge wanted to administer the law fairly or not I cannot say, but this I know, Friery was not convicted by a jury.

The case of Opdike *v.* Thurlow Weed, for libel, furnishes another instance of the manner in which juries lend their aid to frustrate the ends of justice. Neither of these men's hands were clean: the one was a merchant of a pliable morality, and the other a notorious lobby operator: the law in the case awarding damages was perfectly clear to minds of the most ordinary capacity. The jury, however, agreed to disagree; their political bias leaned in a certain direction, and no sense of justice could bring them to the upright condition. So Thurlow Weed was allowed to depart and sow more scandal about his friends with all the impunity his meddling, vindictive mind required.

I am aware that some of the English Justice Shallows occasionally gain unenviable notoriety by their pig-headed

decisions, but however far they may go astray in the discharge of their duties, it is a rare thing for any of them to be charged with mercenary motives. A man holding the commission of the peace in Great Britain must be a person of education, and hold an independent position in society. The rule here is very different: those men who are styled squires, alias justices, are just such people as you would expect to fill the honourable situations of sheriff's officers or petty constables. I have no objection to a man being taken from an humble position to fill a responsible public situation, providing he is a man of marked character, tried integrity, and superior intelligence, but I can have little confidence in Jacks-in-office who have attained their positions by doing the dirty work of political adventurers.

The inferior members of the bar in the States are, as a whole, a peculiar race of men; they are exceedingly susceptible of those feelings which ignite by the smallest possible idea of an insult from a professional adversary. Some of these gentlemen are the true representatives of the Dublin fire-eaters in the beginning of the present century. Instead of hurling arguments at each other while managing the business of their respective clients, they are frequently more disposed to show their respect for the majesty of the law by provoking breaches of the peace. It is not to be wondered at that practitioners at the bar should unite in their character the gentleman and the swaggering bully, when it is known that the judge of a court, upon retiring, will not find it beneath his dignity to drink with the vilest Jerry Sneak, whose office is in the crown of his hat. My readers can have no idea of the manner in which men's real distinctions are kicked about their business by the vulgar familiarity arising

out of false notions of personal liberty. The President must acknowledge the friendly salute of the biggest ruffian, who treats him with as much familiarity as if he were his equal in manly dignity.

An overweening self-conceit is a leading trait in the character of the American people, and, as a consequence, affects their whole social bearing, both in relation to themselves and the natives of other countries. This will not appear strange when it is considered that the working classes think they enjoy a full share in the government of the country, and that manual labour, instead of being a thing of reproach, as in the old world, confers a dignity upon its professors. A feeling of personal independence may, therefore, be said to govern the actions of the American people both in relation to their private and public conduct, and a sense of their social and political power leads exactly to these results, which they so strongly deprecate in the more favoured classes in the old countries, viz., a haughty and overbearing line of conduct to those they consider beneath them. Self-reliance and self-respect are ever active stimulants to ambition in the American character; there is no halting or fear of failure in their onward march: those who break down by the way may lie where they fall, while the strong and the cunning press forward. Feelings of tenderness or delicacy have little to do with men's lives or actions in this great huxtering community.

I have already observed that men in America are units rather than members of local families; it is true there are bonds of union by which men are enabled to think and act in circles; some of these connections are more matters of feeling than principle, and are therefore loose in their adhesive power. Religion in its various phases forms a vast number

of little human unities which, like the objects in a kaleidoscope, are ever changing with the evolutions of time. Freedom of thought and action in this department of social science enables men with small minds and large ambition to prove their independence of all social ties except such as should be governed by their own ill-regulated wills. I find that many of the religious bodies are held together by the aid of dramatic ministers. Light comedy suits the taste of certain congregations; others, whose tones of thought are more sombre, require strong sensational doses of oratory from men who have learned to saw the air. I do not wish to imply that there are not large numbers of people in America whose hearts and feelings are warmed by the glow of true religion, but I think I am not far wrong in saying that a vast number of the churches are used by the people in a theatrical manner. In Great Britain the most ignorant classes, when they enter a church, conduct themselves with solemn decency: here a stranger is shocked at the levity and graceless want of decorum in the conduct of well-dressed people. So far as I can learn, this sort of conduct is by no means exceptional: clergymen are occasionally obliged to lecture the younger branches of their hearers, but as their notions of personal independence make them judges of their own conduct, they pay little respect to pastoral admonition.

How the members of political bodies hang together I am not going to inquire, but from the machinery which is brought to bear upon the votes of the working classes, I have not much faith either in the adhesive character of political factions, or the purity of the electioneering system. Fortune-hunters and unprincipled speculators find a wide and profitable field in the region of politics in this country. Men who

obtain political power must pay for it; one class of adventurers is therefore necessary for the success of another. Notwithstanding the horde of greedy cormorants who are ever ready for place and power, there are plenty of men who are ever true to the best interests of their country, but they belong to that class who travel through the world with a noiseless tread.

It has been said that the American constitution is the most perfect form of government upon record. I do not dispute the statement, but am afraid that the progress of the nation has been much too rapid. Quickly acquired wealth, whether by nations or individuals, is almost certain to produce pride and arrogance. The development of the American institutions, and the opening up of her immense resources, has no parallel in the history of the world; it is, therefore nothing very strange that the people should become inflated with pride, and the rest of the world would readily forgive them, if they would allow their brazen horn to rest in peace occasionally. The generality of men take the world as they find it, and leave the future to statesmen and philosophers, but when we are told that the history of other nations cannot be applied to this, or to the social condition of the people, and that if she is to be tried at all it must be by the standard of her citizens, and that, too, by men of large experience, it only shows how blinded they are with the dust of the nation's prosperity. It is a fact worthy of remark that, whenever the Americans boast of their own or their country's greatness, it is almost sure to be at the expense of England. They see nothing in John Bull but pride, arrogance, and selfishness. They hate his presumption, and detest his aristocratic distinctions. Strange inconsistency, the vices which they charge

upon Mr. Bull as his besetting sins, are precisely those which stand out in relief in their own character!

The Americans are essentially a practical people. In all that appertains to industry and the accumulation of material wealth, they thoroughly understand the necessity of their country, and have developed its resources with extraordinary skill and energy. When, however, any of their public men, whether lay or clerical, have to hold forth in public upon even the plainest matter-of-fact subjects, the wings of their fancy are sure to land them in the Milky Way; and, comparing themselves with the people of other nations, ancient or modern, all other civilizations of the world sink into the nutshell of insignificance. A short time ago I saw the printed report of a meeting of bankers, which was held at Albany, in the State of New York, in which they drew a picture of the effete institutions of the Old World as crumbling into decay, and in glowing terms described the United States with its star-spangled banner, rising in grandeur and social greatness, beneath whose flag of liberty the whole human race would find peace, plenty, and security. What the financial report of a committee of bankers had to do with crumbling dynasties and dreamy speculations about men's future condition, I am unable to comprehend, but as a misapplied literary document, I thought it surpassed everything within the range of my experience.

The petty rivalships and mean jealousies which, to a considerable extent, existed until lately among the European nationalities, were caused in a great measure by their isolation, and the consequent want of both social and commercial intercourse; not knowing each other, the different peoples had no respect for either men or institutions beyond their own borders. This state of things required both time and altered circum-

stances to change it; men must have an interest in that which they would respect, either morally or materially, before their old prejudices will bend to new ideas. The Americans are free from many of the trammels which fettered the Old World nationalities, yet strange as it may appear, their extravagant notions of their own perfection, and their contempt of peoples less favoured, is without a parallel. From my own experience, I should say that the naturalized foreigners are the most bounceable men in the country: I have frequently observed that Irishmen or the sons of Irishmen are often more American than the natives, who trace their genealogies back to the pioneers.

I am sorry to say that many of the worst features in society in this country are of British and Irish importation; for example, profane language is bad enough in the old country among certain grades of the working classes: here, however, the new importance arising from personal independance would seem to break down all the barriers which morality and the usages of good society have set up—and as I have already observed, this intolerable abuse of speech is not confined to the uneducated members of the community.

I consider that no society can exist for any length of time in harmony without the restraining power of wise laws duly and promptly administered. This will not be the case in America until political scheming, and electioneering corruption are done away with. I need not say how soon men's moral sensibility is liable to be blunted by familiarity, and how necessary it is, therefore, to use the safeguards which experience has taught us to apply. Society in America is no doubt in a transition state: a few reverses in the strong tide of their fortune, and a better knowledge of themselves may

enable the people to pay more attention to self-government, obedience to the laws, and a judicious appointment of men who fill situations of responsibility. The advent of a sound healthy public opinion, is to be devoutly wished, but I am afraid that so long as the newspaper press continues to be conducted by scheming politicians, mercenary adventurers, and party scrubs, there is little chance of a reform in this quarter. The pulpit too, from which divine charity should be inculcated, and feelings of universal brotherhood pressed upon men's minds, is not unfrequently desecrated by its occupants, keeping alive the smouldering embers of both national and religious prejudice. If the devil has not been busy among no inconsiderable portion of the clergy in America of late, his black majesty is certainly not entitled to half the credit which heretofore has been awarded him. These gentlemen from their gospel rostrums have hounded on the people to commit acts of wholesale murder, rapine, and devastation, while they themselves lolled at home in security. The mere fact that the teaching of these men could be tolerated by their congregations, supplies a melancholy proof of the degree to which a people may be demoralized when they give themselves up to misdirected clerical influence. "Save the Union," is their constant cry, "though a million of sinners should be hurried to hell in the process!"

The principal besetting sin of the industrial classes in the islands of Great Britain is that of intemperance, and unfortunately this degrading vice accompanies them to whatever part of the world they emigrate. If dissipation stood alone as a moral disease in the person affected, its consequences would be less fearful, but when we know that it produces a whole brood of evils which are opposed to law,

order, and human happiness, we can judge of its direful operations in a country where men have the power to debase themselves almost at will. When I arrived in America I expected to find habitual intemperance much more common than my experience has proved it to be—and that there is a considerable amount of tippling I admit—but must candidly confess that drunkenness is by no means so common as at home. I find too, in most cases which have come under my observation, that the victims of intemperance, whether male or female, have been old-country people. Taking the working classes generally, I have no hesitation in saying they are decidedly more temperate in the use of intoxicating liquors than those of the same grade in Great Britain. This improved condition may arise from several causes, among which may be mentioned the self-respect arising from an idea of personal independence, and the necessity there is for every man to fight his own battle in life without halting.

The convivial habits of the people in this country are very different from those at home: instead of the social chat over the mug of ale and yard of well-baked clay, as in England, the gill stoup in Scotland, or the noggin of whisky in Ireland, they hang about open bars, talk politics and expectorate tobacco-juice, or drain off their "drinks," and "vamouse the ranch." The manner of serving the customers in the public, or porter houses as they are called here, is very different from the system in the old country; if a person calls for a drink of spirits, a bottle is set before him and he helps himself as his taste or requirements dictate; so far as my observation has enabled me to judge, I should say that the system is in favour of the dealers in as much as it is exceptional to see the liberty abused. There is one habit,

however, among the frequenters of bars, which is decidedly bad. If a man goes in to one of these places, and is known to one or other of the persons present, he cannot ask his friend to drink with him without at the same time inviting all present. The person who does not comply with this very reprehensible rule is marked as a mean fellow.

I have already observed that notions of personal independence in certain classes of men is almost certain to result in tyrannical conduct; this is one of the worst features in the dram-drinking community of the country. The class of rowdies, designated "loafers," are the most unmitigated ruffians and unprincipled scoundrels into which humanity can be manufactured. This sort of people in the Old World live on the outside of the pale of respectable society; here, however, the case is different—they are members of the general community and insist on being recognized as such. So far as the working of the social machine is in question, whether its action bears upon political matters or municipal affairs, their ruffianly agency is made use of to forward the interest of unprincipled political adventurers or greedy place-hunters. Worse still, these loafer squads are generally above the law, and as a consequence, they set both its restraining and retributive power at defiance. Nothing better can be expected when it is known that in numerous instances the should-be guardians of the public peace owe their situations to the active influence of the most morally degraded men in the country. The following remarks from the *New York Times* will bear me out in the truth of the above statements. That which applies to the city of New York is equally applicable to all the other large towns in the United States.

"Cooke, the notorious bounty broker," says the writer,

"who was recently convicted of swindling recruits, was liberated last week on bail, by Judge Barnard, on the motion of district Attorney Hall. The *Evening Post* thought fit to comment upon the occurrence and, mistakingly, as it seems, cast the blame on Judge Barnard. This functionary, however, is not a person to let himself be assailed with impunity, so he delivered, on Wednesday, a vigorous reply from his place on the bench, and according to the report of the *Herald*, closed as follows: 'As for the person who wrote the article, it was a well-known fact that he was living in open adultery with a coloured woman, and was, therefore, beneath his notice.'

"We should be very sorry indeed to attempt to prescribe to Judge Barnard the way in which he should defend himself against his assailants or detractors. This is generally regulated by a man's own taste, temperament and education, and if the judge's favourite weapon is the sort of language we have just quoted, we are not simple enough to suppose that at his time of life there is much hope for a change. But as citizens of New York, we think that we have a fair right to ask that quarrels, which necessitate the use of the lowest Billingsgate, be not carried on upon the judicial bench, or that slang and scurrility shall not be heard issuing from one of our judges in open court.

"We are satisfied that although the sense of decency seems to be rapidly declining in the courts of this city, it is increasing on the part of the public, and that there is at this moment a larger number of persons in the community who are shocked and disgusted by the scandalous behaviour of the bench and bar, than ever there were before. It is to the attention of the public, therefore, that we commend this incident. There are few Americans, we would hope, who will hear of it without

some amount of honest shame and indignation, and we trust that those who experience these sensations will endeavour to keep them alive until 1866. There will then be an opportunity of getting rid of the system, to which we are indebted for judges like Messrs. Barnard and McCunn. We have now had sixteen years' experience of it, and we believe there are not twenty respectable lawyers or intelligent laymen, who are not satisfied that it has proved an unmitigated curse. In this city it is useless to look for improvement without a change in the constitution. The class which elects our judges here can only be improved by a long course of education and long exposure to better influences than now reach them; and in the meantime the very foundations of public morality are sapped by the elevation to the judgment-seat of men whose walk and conversation, no community which can boast the presence in its ranks of either Christians or gentlemen, can help feeling to be a public calamity and public disgrace."

CHAPTER IV.

RELIGIOUS AND MORAL CHARACTERISTICS.

Puritanical Pride of the New Englanders—Conservatism of the South—Rationalism of the North—Shrewdness of the Genuine Yankee—Real Character of Religious Freedom in America—Quakerism and the Shaking Quakers—Amusements and Superstitions—Astrological Charlatans and Clairvoyantes—Medical Nostrums and Immoralities—Prevalence of Profane Language—Want of Filial Respect in Young Americans—Evil Consequences of the Boarding System—Instability of the Relations between Employers and Employed—Spasmodic Toadyism of the Mass—Rise of the Codfish and Shoddy Aristocracy.

THE people in the different States of the Union are characterized by peculiarities of both a moral and physical nature, which in many cases make them easily recognizible even by partial strangers. The inhabitants of the New England States constitute the pure Yankee breed, and, as a general rule, they are easily distinguished from all other races of men on the Continent. These States embrace Maine, Vermont, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Massachusetts, and Connecticut. The spirit that rebelled against persecution in the Old Country, and persecuted with savage ferocity when it became the master of the situation, still lives in puritanical pride and self-satisfied holy dignity in these States. The families of the men who were the pioneers of civilization in

the New World, whose religious zeal and fiery faith made them regardless of danger, and who brought with them their Old World experience, social habits, and domestic virtues, have some reason to feel proud of being the only Americans in the country. The "down easters," as the people in these States are called, have a happy method of combining their religious aspirations and worldly pursuits in profitable harmony. The men of business in these States can neither be rivalled in godly zeal nor circumvented in trade. In speech, they are slow, snaffling, and formal, and as they in general only possess two classes of ideas they act with amazing promptitude when their own interest is in question.

The City of Boston is the centre of New England civilization, and may be looked upon as the metropolis of the Eastern States. The civil war and all its terrible consequences was due more to the misdirected religious zeal and pseudo-philanthropy of the people in these States than to any other cause of which I am aware. If a body of men feel impressed with the idea that their standard of religion and morals is the only true one, they are sure to be continually dictating terms of both faith and conduct to the rest of mankind; and this the Puritans have done so far as the pressure of Christian charity and liberal sentiment without would allow. At the same time there is no such unity of spirit in the dogmatism of the North as this might imply, but rather a seething mixture of faiths—half faiths and no faiths at all—which operate upon the unfused masses in a thousand different ways. The following remarks quoted from the *Richmond Sentinel* fairly contrast the difference between North and South in this respect, and are further valuable now that the war is ended, as a deliberate statement, from the

Southern point of view, of the moral antagonism between the two populations :—

"The most important and difficult thing in the world is to know one's self. The next most important and difficult thing is to know one's enemy. Self-love clouds our judgment in the former case, and prejudice distorts it in the latter. It may be useful to inquire just as we are starting into separate national existence what causes, what distinctive characteristics have begotten a settled enmity between North and South, and whether these causes are likely to continue and to be enhanced or to be diminished and removed in the future.

"Looking to the settlement and history of the opposing sections, we find a ready solution of these difficulties. The South was settled by *Conservatives*, the North by *Rationalists*. In matters of religion, as well as of government, the Cavaliers (or men agreeing with them in religious and political opinion) and the Catholics, who were the first settlers of the South, and whose descendants compose a large majority of the Southern population, and give tone and character to the whole section, were almost to a man conservatives in religion as well as in politics. The new sects and various immigrants that have come in since the first settlement most probably chose the South as their adopted home, because they, too, were conservative in feeling, sentiment, and opinion. Be that as it may, the religious sects of the South are now all equally conservative and zealously conservative.

"From their colonial birth to the present day Southrons have been distinguished (and sometimes ridiculed) for their hatred of innovation, their respect for the past, and their adherence to its customs, habits, practices and opinions, as

well in private as in public life. In fine, in religion and politics and in all the affairs of life, they were distinguished for faith and respect for authority. They never inquired into the abstract reason of things, and adopted or rejected them as they concurred with their reason; but were governed by the experience of the past and the weight of authority, human and divine. They did not attempt to bring down the Bible to the standard of their own fallible reason, nor make laws and governments on abstract political principles. Things that had worked well, that had been long tested and approved by human authority, they adopted and followed, without inquiring into their reasonableness. Thus, they were, in every sense, in public and in private life, conservatives. Conservatives by pedigree, descent, habit, association and education.

"Within the present century a new impulse and more decided character were given to their habitual, but as yet unconscious conservatism. The followers of Locke's political philosophy, or rather of his contemptible political charlatanism, the assertors of human equality, the rationalists in politics, men who rejected faith and authority in all things, whether divine or human; who relied on unaided, uninspired human reason, and subordinated the Bible and all human authority to this fallible, presumptuous reason, made a deadly onslaught on an institution as old and almost as universal as mankind; an institution ordained of God and accepted and upheld by the laws and practices of all civilized countries, at least at some period of their history.

"The institution of domestic slavery thus assailed, could only be properly and successfully defended by conservative arguments. We were driven to maintain that it was right because it was ordained and approved by God, and by the

laws, customs and usages of all nations. We rejected in its defence all mere abstract reasoning, because we saw that sceptics and infidel philosophers had demonstrated that nothing human or divine, nothing in the moral and nothing in the physical world could stand the test of such reasoning; all existence withered and disappeared before it, with here and there, perchance, an idea floating disconnectedly in the immensity of space. Such we found to be the sad triumph of speculative philosophy and abstract human reasoning, when we were called on to defend human slavery. This compelled us to rely on conservative grounds and arguments. We had unconsciously been all along conservatives in feeling, sentiment and opinion, in all our customs, habits, usages, and practices, and conservatives by birth, education, and hereditary descent. It was, therefore, easy and natural for us to rely on, and to use conservative arguments and authorities in opposition to radical, destructive, speculative rationalism.

"We think this little will suffice, or ought to suffice, to show that we are and shall continue, probably, to be the most conservative people in the world, and that our quarrel with the North will grow daily more irreconcilable, whether in peace or in war, as they become daily more speculative, radical, sceptical, infidel, and rationalistic.

"While the South was being settled by Conservatives, the North was about the same time settled by the Puritans, who were eminently radical and revolutionary in their political as well as religious doctrines. They upset the monarchy in England, beheaded the king, and would have instituted general anarchy and confusion but for the stern will and despotic rule of Cromwell. They were at war with

all existing forms of religion, and all existing forms of political polity. They even abjured in America for a time the common law of England as no part of their institutions. Each congregation framed their own religious faith, made their own church—in fact, set up their own God, and construed the Bible to mean just what they pleased. Those congregations were little democratic theocracies, who established religions, laws and government according to the lights of their own reason, irrespective of the wisdom, the authority or the experience of the past. They were, in America, as they had been in England, rash and presumptuous reasoners or rationalists. They were not the first rationalists. One of the earliest and most conspicuous sects of rationalists were the Socinians or Unitarians, who rejected the doctrine of the Trinity because it was contrary to human reason. In like manner the Quakers were rationalists because they made all religion to consist in obeying the dictates of their inner light or reason. They did not reject the Bible, but subordinated it to their inner light, and accepted it because it concurred with that infallible guide. Such, we learn from Mr. Bancroft and other writers, were the doctrines of the early Quakers. What they are now we know not. Rationalism, introduced by the Puritans, is gradually undermining all religious and political faith and all conservative opinions at the North. The marriage institution, reduced by them to a mere civil contract, begat frequency and facility of divorce, led next to Mormonism, and we suppose has culminated in free love. But pure Yankee reason is about to achieve a still higher triumph in intermarrying the blacks with the whites. This last stride of rationalism they term miscegenation.

"The institution of marriage is not the only one assailed. Private property, especially separate property in lands, is denounced by all the Abolitionists, who are the ruling power at the North. Indeed, almost every old and venerable human institution has been subjected to the crucible of their rationalistic philosophy, and found wanting, found incompatible with pure, abstract human reason. The fiat has gone forth from the closets of their philosophers—(and every one, especially every woman at the North, is a philosopher, ready to do away with this old, crazy world and make a better one in its place); that a new order of things shall be established called communism, in which all things shall be free for the use and enjoyment of all people. When the war is over, Mr. Greeley and the other socialistic philosophers may find the disbanded soldiery admirable instruments wherewith to carry into practical effect their brilliant theories and philanthropic purposes.

"There are two historical anecdotes—one occurring in Virginia, and the other in Connecticut, just after the English revolution—that admirably illustrate the opposite character of the two sections. When the Virginia House of Burgesses heard of the beheading of the king, they, by solemn resolution, denounced it as the blackest of crimes, and his judges as the basest of traitors and murderers, at the same time terming the deceased king a holy saint. Some years afterwards one of the regicides fled to Connecticut, and died there, and a marble monument has been erected to his memory at Yale College.

"In all other societies, except in Colonial America, conservatives and radicals, or, as we prefer to call them, rationalists, were found side by side, and almost as equal

in numbers as males and females. Here the singular spectacle was presented of adjoining colonies or societies—the one section all conservatives, the other all rationalists.

"These opposite traits of character have been growing more and more distinct, and deeply marked from the first settlements up to this time. Beginning with liberalism and free inquiry, the North seems about to wind up with free love, amalgamation, infidelity, agrarianism, and anarchy, while the South becomes daily more conservative.

"We have already said that all of the churches of the South were conservative. This is the natural, normal and usual condition of all religious societies and institutions. Liberals, radicals, and infidels continually charge Christianity with upholding government and opposing all change, innovation, progress, and improvement. This charge cannot justly be preferred against the churches of the North. The clergy there, of all denominations, are the most reckless theorizers and speculators, the boldest innovators, the most zealous rationalists and radicals, to be found in the community. They are all abolitionists, socialists, communists, sceptics, agrarians or infidels. They take the lead in politics, and have made the pulpit a mere rostrum for stump speeches and abolition lectures. When religion becomes anarchical and revolutionary, government and all its laws and institutions are in danger.

"One reason why we have employed the term 'rationalism' rather than 'radicalism,' as the opposite of 'conservatism,' is because a very numerous and learned sect of German Christians have been called, for the last forty years, rationalists; whose distinctive peculiarity is, that they reject whatever is miraculous or supernatural in the Bible,

and accept only what concurs with their own reason, observation and experience. This has made the term current and intelligible. Rationalism in politics is older than rationalism in religion. It began with Plato. It has ever failed in practice, and only been fruitful of bloodshed, revolution and anarchy. Locke is the author of modern political rationalism, as he is also of modern materialism and infidelity. His political writings begat the former, his metaphysics the latter.

"The foundation of his political philosophy, the single idea from which he deduces his whole system, is the bold, gratuitous assumption of the doctrine of human equality, from which he proceeds quite as gratuitously and falsely to assert that all government is of human contrivance and built upon an actual social contract. Conservatives all hold, with Aristotle, that society and government are prescriptive, as old as man and as natural, and that their origin and growth are and ever will be hidden in obscurity.

"The framers of the Declaration of Independence introduced not only the doctrines, but the very words of Locke into the preamble of that instrument, and the Chicago Abolition Nominating Convention took the words from that instrument, and adopted them as part of their platform. If the editors of the *Whig* will review Locke's political philosophy, they will find we did not err in calling him a shallow philosopher and the author of abolition.

"We owe him no good-will, and shall give him no good words. Before his day, in modern times, but few political rationalists had appeared in the world. Among them were Sir Thomas More, Lord Bacon, and Harrington. But Locke's philosophy, carried to France, begat almost uni-

versal infidelity and rationalism in the learned circles of society."

The Puritanism of the North has not always been fairly represented in the trading operations of the black philanthropists, for if report speaks true, many a kidnapped African has been stowed away in the fœtid holds of Boston slavers. The New Englanders are shrewd men of the world; they know the value of wealth, and as they are above being sordid, they only esteem it for the power it confers and the comforts it commands. The pilgrim fathers have left an impression upon society in these states which will not easily wear away in a strong determination of character—a dogged adherence to foregone conclusions and a firm faith in their own superiority. You will know a real living Yankee by his lean figure, his straight hair, his long saturnine visage, and his nasal drawling manner of speech; but though he is slow to express himself, there is no mistaking the meaning of his words when enunciated. Taking the people of these states as a whole, they are both sober and industrious; their social and religious prejudices, however, are matters of great difficulty for strangers to contend with, and, like all other classes of men whose notions of things are regulated by extreme opinions, their hatred is the gall of bitterness.

It is generally understood that both political and religious freedom exist in the United States in the very plenitude of social harmony; and this might be the case if all the people were of one way of thinking upon abstract questions; but as men do differ and will differ not only about opinions but facts, they just tolerate each other when they have not the power to impose uniformity. As the constitution allows the people to think for themselves in religious matters, the law protects

all parties against open violence: the opposing sects may, therefore, snarl at each other and even injure each other in business and reputation, but they cannot use the power of the State to carry out their godly purposes.

Quakerism, which at one time was a serious thorn in the flesh of the early Puritans, has its stronghold in Pennsylvania, and though the sect abjures "the world, the flesh, and the devil," the good things of the world with a strange inconsistency cling to them as if for the purpose of testing the strength of their godliness. But there is one body of people distinct from these, yet of the same stock, whose social and industrial influence is felt to no inconsiderable extent beyond their own territories. I allude to the "Shaking Quakers." They are among the most exemplary citizens in the Union for industry, honesty, sobriety, cleanliness, prudence, and chastity. They live in common; both sexes lead lives of perpetual celibacy and recruit their ranks from the outside world; they have everything necessary both for their comfort and convenience among themselves. They are agriculturists, gardeners, florists, seedsmen, and manufacturers. Their clothing is plain, but good, and uniform through all their ranks; they are correct in their habits, and strict in their religious duties. In their manners they are free, open, cheerful, courteous, and obliging. This sect, however, must believe that the Creator Almighty made a mistake in creating man with the power of perpetuating his kind; and they are determined so far as their own conduct is in question to rectify the error by bringing the world to a stand. There is really no accounting for men's religious opinions; but as they are their own special property nobody has a right to call them in question, however ridiculous they may appear.

These people have locations both in the State of New York and Connecticut. The principal colony, however, of the sect is within seven miles of the city of Albany in the state of New York.* I have heard it said by men who have been members and left when they wanted a change, and others who have traded with them and been familiar with their holdings, that their land is better cultivated, their towns and villages cleaner, their young and aged members better cared for, and that greater harmony prevails among them than in the country beyond their borders. All classes of people are admissible into the fold of the Shakers who are able and willing to work; they have no non-producers excepting such people as may be incapacitated by age or infirmity. If a boy or a girl goes among them he or she is articled to some member for a certain specified time, at the expiration of which the girl or boy may either remain in the colony or leave; in either case the benefit of a good education has been secured, and some useful business acquired. People who are not ambitious for anything beyond a comfortable quiet living, and who are not the slaves of their own passions, will find in this colony what a number of men in the world are seeking for during their lives, Peace and Plenty.

The Shaking Quakers appear to me to have successfully reduced to practice those principles of communism, which Robert Owen so repeatedly failed in carrying out both at home and in America. And yet, notwithstanding that a large number of struggling people send their children to the Shaker's Institution, and numbers of both young men and women seek a refuge there, I cannot conceive even the probability of the society continuing to exist. As at present

* Lebanon.

organized, it may be that the religion of this singular people enables them to subdue the feelings which have so large an influence in regulating the actions of men in the outer world, and I have certainly never heard the purity of their lives questioned. But can this be expected to last? At present those members who find that they are unable to conform to the rules, leave the sect, and their places are filled with fresh probationers.

The Shakers are the very antipodes of the Mormons. The followers of Joe Smith are essentially a sensual people, and their men hold the women in a degrading bondage. In this new sect the social position of the women is no way inferior to that of the men, and if they minister to each other's enjoyment it must be in those rational pleasures in which both old and young can partake.

When Robert Owen gathered together his little colony on the banks of the Clyde, he was not long in being furnished with proof that he had made a grand mistake. His system was purely a philosophical one, and unlike that of the Shakers it wanted both the life and binding influence of religion to keep it alive and healthy. Even fanaticism is a more enduring thing when it gets hold of the feelings of a people than considerations of worldly advantage, however valuable they may be for men's use. Owen intended to found a new social system, and his plan failed because the higher aspirations of men were overlooked. What he failed to do has been accomplished by a few simple-minded men; and their institution stands out in bold relief as one of great industrial and social utility in a country where all is life and action.

But to resume the more general observations with which I commenced this chapter. The ordinary amusements of

the American people are balls, routs, raffles, and theatrical exhibitions. The balls among the working classes have little to recommend them in a moral point of view; in most cases they are open to all who will pay the price of admission; it may, therefore, be well supposed that they are not over select. Gambling is a very common vice among the people. Lottery offices are open to speculators in luck in all the principal towns. These institutions have a great hold upon the feelings of numbers of the community, and it may be observed that it is associated in the minds of certain classes of the people with gross superstition. Numbers of men and women, both old and young, prepare their minds to dream of lucky numbers, and when one of them has had a vision of a "mystic figure," he hurries off to the nearest office and makes his purchase. I know men who have invested two dollars weekly in these offices during many years, and though they have never received an acknowledgment for their faith in the goddess of fortune, they look forward with hope that the time will come when she will repay them for their fidelity.

I was aware before I went to America that in religious matters superstition prevailed in numerous forms. Shakers, Quakers, Dancers, Rappists, Spasmodists, Spiritual-Rappers, and several other sects whose fanaticism seemed to set common sense at defiance, have long been familiar by report to the British people. I had no idea, however, that the general community could support such a host of vampires as I have found living upon it. From the number of famed astrologers who address themselves to the inquisitive and discontented members of society, one would almost imagine oneself living in the age of Louis XIV., when the stars instead of men's

conduct fixed their destiny in life. The following advertisements taken from the *New York Herald* will give my readers an idea of the elevating influence education exercises over the minds of the people :—

A. B. MAURICE, THE GREAT AND REAL ASTROLOGER, OF 126 Bleecker-street, with several secrets that no living mortal ever knew before, will unfold the mysteries of the past, present and future, and give to all his visitors a foreknowledge of all the general affairs through their whole life. He tells in regard to health, wealth, friends, enemies, love, courtship, and marriage, promotion, happiness, misfortune, gain, loss, &c.; tells the very day you will marry, and describes the intended husband and wife, and in causing speedy marriages will bring success out of the most hopeless cases. All who consult Professor Maurice will be sure of success in any undertaking, and have good luck and be prosperous through life. Six questions answered by letter for 50 cents. All hours till 9 P.M. 126 Bleecker-street, near Wooster. Fee—Ladies, 50 cents; gentlemen, $1.

ASTONISHING.—MADAME MORROW, SEVENTH DAUGHTER, with a natural gift of foresight to tell everything, even your very thoughts, or no pay; tells how soon you will marry; no charge for showing the likeness and causing speedy marriages; her great magic image is now in full operation; she has no equal; fee only 25 cents; gents not admitted. Hours from 9 till 8½ P.M. 184 Ludlow-street, near Houston-street.

ASTROLOGY.—DR. L. D. AND MRS. S. D. BROUGHTON CAN be consulted on all affairs of human life, such as Courtship, Marriage, Removals, Business, Sickness, &c. Ladies, 50 cents; gentlemen, $1. Office, 120 Greene-street.

A BONA FIDE ASTROLOGIST, THAT EVERY ONE CAN depend on, is MADAME WILSON, who tells the object of your visit, and brings success out of the most perilous undertakings. N.B.—Celebrated Magic Charms. 189 Allen-street, between Houston and Stanton-streets, over the bakery. Charges for ladies and gentlemen, 50 cents.

LOOK HERE!—$5,000 REWARD FOR ANY PERSON WHO CAN equal Miss WELLINGTON in giving correct statements on all events through life, particularly losses, lawsuits, and lucky numbers. She also has a never-failing remedy for drunkenness and bringing the separated together, by which

Two souls with but a single thought,
Two hearts that beat as one,

will be united for ever. She is perfectly certain of her happy acquirements in stating correct facts. Her truths are founded on natural gifts. Delay not to consult this beautiful young lady, at 101 Sixth-avenue, opposite Eighth-street.

LOOK HERE!—ARE YOU IN TROUBLE? HAVE YOU BEEN deceived or trifled with? Have your fond hopes been blasted by false promises? If so, go to MADAME ROSS for advice and satisfaction. In love affairs she was never known to fail. She brings together those long separated, and shows a correct likeness of future husband or absent friends. Lucky numbers free. No. 98 West Twenty-seventh street, between Sixth and Seventh-avenues. Name on the door. Ring the basement bell.

MRS. MARION JAMES, BUSINESS AND MEDICAL CLAIRVOYANT. 170 Third-avenue, near Seventeenth-street, never fails to give correct information of lost and stolen property, absent and lost friends, lawsuits and business affairs generally. Gentlemen not admitted.

NO IMPOSITION.—THE NEVER-FAILING MADAME STARR, from Europe, who was born with a natural gift. She consults you on the past, present, and future. She brings together those long separated, causes speedy marriages, shows you a correct likeness of your future husband or absent friends; numbers free. You that have been deceived by false lovers, you that have been unfortunate in life, call on this great European clairvoyant, for it is attested by hundreds who daily visit her that her equal is not to be found. $500 reward for any one who can equal her in her profession or skill. She tells you the name of the person you will marry. No. 101 East Seventeenth-street, corner of Third-avenue. Name on the door. Gentlemen not admitted.

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165 BOWERY.—MADAME WIDGER, CLAIRVOYANT AND gifted Spanish lady, unravels the mysteries of futurity, love, marriage, absent friends, sickness; prescribes medicines for all diseases, tells lucky numbers, property lost or stolen, &c.

These impudent charlatans are not supported in indolence and luxury by the humbler members of society, whose ignorance would in some measure be an apology for their credulity; on the contrary, their best patrons are among the upper grades. Though the *New York Herald* is a vehicle of slander, ruffianism, and impudent bombast, its advertising columns will give a stranger more insight into the small mysteries of social life in America than could be obtained by years of personal experience. Here we find beautiful and interesting babies, not to let, but for adoption; medical gentlemen who can be specially consulted by ladies—a class of public bene-

factors who live by assisting to keep down over-population, and I have reason to believe that their valuable services are more frequently in demand by married ladies, who find more enjoyment in the midnight revel than in the nursery, than among the frail daughters of Eve, who use them to hide their shame. During the last twelvemonths several of these gentlemen, whose operations resulted fatally, have paid the penalty of their blundering. There is one class of very accommodating people always to be met with in the *Herald;* they have situations open in nearly every branch of business in which the remuneration is a tempting bait. Two requisites only are necessary, fitness for the berth, and the possession of from one to five hundred dollars to deposit by way of security. I need not say how readily these barefaced swindlers can part with their "helps" and retain their deposits! Here, too, we find young gentlemen of attractive persons, agreeable manners, amiable dispositions, and independent means, inviting young ladies to hymeneal partnerships. The ladies here are generally pretty "smart," but notwithstanding their smartness many of them are victimized out of their dollars by these matrimonial rogues. The following advertisement in my experience is without a parallel for barefaced and impudent effrontery, and furnishes a proof of the detestable character of the paper that could have inserted it :—

TO ALL.—LADIES EMPLOYED IN MANUFACTURING ESTABLISHMENTS, stores, and shops of all kinds, will find it to their advantage to answer this advertisement. A young gentleman of wealth and refinement desires to have an interview, with a view to matrimony, with the handsomest working lady in New York city. Address, enclosing carte de visite, James, New York Post-office.

There is another trait in the habits of the American people which cannot fail to make a disagreeable impression upon

the minds of strangers, and more particularly when it is borne in mind that they boast of being the most civilized community in the world. The use of profane language is common to all classes; if a man wishes to give force to an expression, whether the subject of conversation be grave or gay, he is sure to fix it upon the attention of the listener with some foul phrase culled from the vocabulary of Billingsgate. This abuse of the power of speech is neither confined to age, sex, nor condition. Little boys and girls when leaving school, and playing about the streets, may be heard bandying the most foul-mouthed oaths and imprecations with each other, and except it be by a passing stranger, no notice is taken of this shocking depravity.

I know of no circumstance connected with the moral and social condition of the American people that is calculated to produce such serious results to society as that which arises from the peculiar relation of parents and their offspring. Generally speaking the children in this country are premature men and women. At an early age their first endeavour is to clear themselves from all the restraints of parental authority, and as soon as they are able to work for their own living, they swarm off to boarding-houses, as I have mentioned in the previous chapter. This unnatural state of things is owing in a great measure to the folly of fathers and mothers, who take a pride in seeing their children precocious and smart, like the boys and girls of "other people." That filial subordination which exists in every well-regulated family in the old country is a rare state of domestic government to be found here. The difference produced by the patriarchal system of the Old World, and the notions arising from personal liberty and independence in this, is easily observed in the conduct

and character of the people. I have observed that the children of Irish parents are frequently among the most undutiful; the fact is, the youths of this class often become ashamed of their humble but honest fathers and mothers, whose rustic manners and home notions are looked upon as a reproach to themselves. The old folks continue true to the religion of their fathers, and find consolation in its teachings; but in many instances which have come under my own experience, I have observed that the young people soon learn to throw off the restraints of a religion which makes them the scorn of their go-a-head companions. So far as the prevailing want of duty and affection on the part of children for their parents is concerned, the fact has been admitted by all to whom I have mentioned the subject, and more than one father and mother with whom I conversed, and who deplored this unnatural condition of things, were training their own hopefuls to repay their ill-regulated affection with ingratitude. "Honour thy father and mother," is a maxim which is little attended to in this land of liberty, and the injunction of "call no man master" is fulfilled to the letter, through the whole round of society.

I have already attempted to describe the working man's boarding-house system, and to expose the evils which are inseparably connected with it. From the manner in which the inmates are obliged to herd together, few, if any, of these houses possess anything like the character of a home, in even the most distant sense of the term. I may mention, too, that the lodgers in these boarding-houses must take their meals by the sound of a bell; and it is the rule in many of them for the absentees to fast until they can make it convenient to sit down to mess in the regular way.

The hotel boarding system in America is in my opinion a social evil of a magnitude not much less than that which I have already described. The wives of men in respectable circumstances, instead of attending to the comforts of their husbands, the early training of their children, and the numerous little domestic affairs of their homes, where a daily round of industry begets home virtues, lead lives of sickening indolence. If young, they are exposed to all the evils of intrigue and the dangerous practice of promiscuous flirtation. The children who are brought up in these nurseries of artificial life in which the sojourners are never at home, are introduced to the world under circumstances where the fireside virtues and the tender ties of relationship are swallowed up amid the gilded follies of fashionable life. If Young America, after being thus tutored, should mount the platform of public life, it can hardly be a matter of surprise that his feelings should be dead to all the most tender emotions of his nature. Yet this is the mode in which much of the juvenile humanity of the United States is prepared for the duties of active life.

It would be exceedingly unfair to overlook one admirable characteristic in the morals of American people. They are all imbued with the spirit of self-reliance, and, as a consequence, every tub must stand upon its own bottom. Whatever business, trade, or profession men engage in, they make up their minds to take the shortest road to fortune, regardless alike of whom they may push out of their way, or the means they may have to employ. It is not a little amusing to strangers to see how readily men adapt themselves to the circumstances of the time being, as they are neither restrained by delicacy of feeling nor the dread of failure from undertaking

any sort of business, however ignorant they may be of its proper management. In my own trade I have known men who have boxed the compass of almost every species of human industry. Some have perambulated the length and breadth of the States, gone overland to California, and when tired of the gold region, returned by the same route. A working man in this country is situated very differently from one of his own class at home; if he have the means, he can go where he pleases without the trouble of carrying a certificate of character in his pocket. Indeed it would be just as admissible in the social code for a man seeking work to demand a character of the "Boss" he may apply to, as that he should be asked for one. In these matters Jack is as good as his master. The relationship which exists between slaves and their owners in this land of liberty has been the means of kicking the word master from the Yankee vocabulary, and the quaint phrase of "Boss" has been substituted in its place.

This country has had the rare advantage of growing into national greatness without having had to pass through the ordeal of feudalism, or being trammelled in her progress by the tyrannical influence arising from the pride of caste; but though she has escaped the degrading effects of the one, the other is a contingency she may look forward to as one of the necessary developments of her social system, and that, too, at no distant period. I have no fault to find with working people for acting with manly independence in their intercourse with their employers. The two classes of men are related to each other by the conditions of mutual interest; but in this country, rudeness and want of civility on the part of the working man is often mistaken for straightforwardness

of character, and as a consequence, ignorant and presumptuous people are frequently guilty of the most ridiculous conduct.

A notice of the moral stamina of the American people would be very incomplete if it did not include one of the most conspicuous traits of the national character. In consequence of the nervous temperament of the people, the mind is ever upon the watch for stimulants, and, as a good mental stimulant, they are seldom without some popular idol or similar cause of excitement. Notwithstanding their undying hatred of lordly titles and aristocratic distinctions, there is nothing between pandemonium and heaven which the American people will run after with more evident delight than a real living lord. Men may pretend to despise social distinctions, but when opportunity offers, there are few who can resist the fascinating influence which even small titles exercise over the mind. If the people in the United States continue in the march of social progress, and accumulate material wealth in anything like the same ratio they have been doing during the last forty years, there will be no lack of aristocratic distinctions and assumptions of superiority of caste by the transformed plebeians. Even now the "big bugocracy" are imitating the patricians of the Old World in all their social appliances, and though there is no Royal Court in which they can be presented, and no monarchical hand to kiss, they make up for the want by attending the levées of the President, in the White House, in the capital of the Union. It is in the nature of men to aspire, and whether the object of their ambition is to be first among beggars or princes, the ever-living motive is the same in all conditions of society.

I am borne out in these general observations on the

American people by the following remarks, which I quote from the *Herald*:—"The principle of change which underlies the current of our existence," says the writer, "is nowhere marked by more curious phases than in this community. Events succeed each other with a rapidity which has no parallel, while new men and reputations are being continually brought to the surface. The war has, no doubt, contributed to bring about this state of things, though the love of novelty may be said to have been always an inherent feature of the American character. While the people of other countries venerate things for their antiquity, we love everything that is new. New houses, new carpets, new furniture, new carriages, and new servants are indispensable elements of our social comfort. Our friendships, too, are like our habits. We have but little veneration, and no strong attachments.

"Since the commencement of the war how strongly have all these characteristics been developed! We have set up and dethroned more idols than a people ever before indulged in. The only false gods that we could not displace were, unfortunately, those that sat in the temple of State. But all others that obtained prominence through popular favour have been more or less made to feel its fickleness. Old generals have been made to give place to new ones, and these in their turn, after saving the nation, are being shelved by the politicians.

"And the tendency to fulfil this inexorable principle of our existence is to be observed as well in our social and artistic arrangements. Thus to our codfish aristocracy succeeded a shoddy aristocracy, and to our shoddy aristocracy succeeds in its turn an oil or petroleum aristocracy—the one just as ignorant, pretentious, and extravagant as the others. By-and-by some other discovery will be made, by which new

speculators will be brought to the surface, and a fresh aristocracy created. It is satisfactory to reflect that, when we pass into the condition of a monarchy or an empire, all these agglomerations of wealth and pretension can be easily converted into orders of nobility, according to date."

CHAPTER V.

THE WOMEN OF AMERICA.

Principle of Equality asserted by Women—Dishclout Work done by Men—Looseness of the Matrimonial Tie—Unnatural Practices preventing the Increase of Population—Extravagance of Working Men's Wives—Character of Domestic Servants—"Shure, there is no Ladies nor Gintlemin in this Counthry, Ma'm!"—Young Women in American Workshops—Effects of the War upon the Morals of American Women—Gallantry of Americans estimated—Purity of Sentiment in American Women—General Refinement of Americans—Roosters and Gentlemen Cows—Surprise Parties—Motherless Children and Widows bewitched—Plain Statement of Women's Rights—Dissipation of Society in general during the War—Resort to Fortune-telling—Use of Love-spells by American Girls.

The principle of equality laid down in the Constitution of the United States has influenced in a remarkable manner the condition of the women of the country. It may be that the world has heretofore been wrong in according to man a mental and physical superiority over woman, and that until the latter end of the Eighteenth Century, he usurped a controlling power in society to which he had no right. Whether this be so or not, the American women have taken what they deem their proper position in society, and according to their own manner of expressing themselves, if they cannot boss it over the men they will not be bossed, which simply means if they cannot be masters they will not be mastered. A married woman in the ranks of the working-classes in England knows she has certain

household duties to perform, and she does them with order and regularity. She has learned to look up to her husband, not as a master, but as a lover and protector. She has two strong motives for studying his health and attending to his wants and wishes—her affection is the first, and her self-interest the second. From the general nature of domestic arrangements the man and his wife slide as it were into their respective duties; he works for the siller, and she lays it out to the best advantage, and makes him a home in the best sense of the term.

In all civilized society, if we except America, women, from the very nature of their weakness, look up to man as a power above them, but they esteem that power with feelings of love rather than fear. In America, female notions of equality and personal independence have to a great extent reversed the old order of things in the relation of the sexes to each other. Among the class of married people who keep house it is a common thing for the man to do a considerable part of the slip-slop work. In the morning he lights the stove-fire, empties the slops, makes ready his own breakfast, and if his work lies at a distance he packs up his midday meal, and leaving his wife in bed, he packs himself off to his work. Even among the trading classes who have private dwellings, it is quite common to see the men bringing parcels from the market, the grocer's, fishmonger's, or butcher's, for the morning meal. It may be supposed from this bending of masculine dignity in the dishclout-service of their wives, the men are examples of kind and affectionate husbands, and that the ladies are so many connubial doves! But this would be a hasty conclusion. Since the opening of the Divorce Court in England strange disclosures have been made of the mystery

of married life, and civilized humanity has often been startled by the savage conduct of its members. But though selfishness, incompatibility of temper, and even brutality of disposition have caused much suffering, the bond of matrimony as it exists in the old country is esteemed not the less a holy tie and a safeguard of public morality. In America, notwithstanding the ready performance of the domestic duties mentioned above, the matrimonial tie is comparatively loose. The woman who has made up her mind not to be bossed by her husband, which means that she will do as she likes irrespective of his will, is not likely to run smoothly in hymeneal harness, and this is the case with a large number of wives in the lower stratum of society. But here again a distinction must be drawn between the natives and the immigrants. I have reason to believe that the real American women make by far the best wives and mothers.

To be a mother of a family by which the branches of the matrimonial tree may be extended, is the ambition of nearly all married women in the old country. This feeling is dictated by the law of nature; but in America, the natural law is frequently made to bend to circumstances opposed to nature. Instead of children being accepted as a blessing, and a cause of rejoicing, the thread of life is too frequently cut before they have drawn breath by their inhuman mothers. Nor is the practice of abortion confined to any one grade of society. The wife of the mechanic, and the fashionable partner of the independent gentleman, have recourse to the same means for relieving themselves of a duty against which their selfishness revolts. The following report of the grand jury of the state and city of New York will furnish official proof as to the magnitude of the crime in that place alone.

"The grand inquest of the city and county of New York for the September term," says the Presentment, 1864, "would respectfully call the attention of the judges of the Court of General Sessions to the present imperfect and unsatisfactory character of the statutes in relation to the procurement and perpetration of the crime of abortion. They are informed that such are the indefinite and limited terms of these statutes that it is extremely difficult to procure convictions even in cases where an abortion is effected, and impossible where an attempt to produce abortion is proven. In these latter cases, the parties implicated can only be indicted for assault and battery, the punishment for which, upon conviction, is entirely inadequate as against an offence of so heinous a character and so destructive to the good morals of our community. A case has been submitted to this grand jury which, in all its circumstances, demands, as against the parties accused, the severest condemnation and punishment of the criminals. Both the operating physician and the guilty seducer will probably escape with the infliction of the slight punishment prescribed by law for a misdemeanor. The increase in the commission of this kind of offences and in the number of disreputable so-called 'physicians,' who readily afford their criminal aid to parties desirous of either concealing their shame or of relieving themselves from the trouble and expense of rearing their natural offspring, gives ample warning to our legislators that some new measures should be taken to mete out to this class of offenders such punishment as will repress this growing evil. The grand jury, therefore, respectfully urge upon the court that the attention of the legislature, at its next session, be called to this grave matter by the judges of this court, and that a law

adequate to the necessities of the case be framed by the district attorney, and presented for the action of the legislature."

Numbers of men holding diplomas live and grow rich by this unholy calling, and scores of advertising ladies follow in their wake. It is a common practice with parents who look upon their children as an incumbrance, to advertise them in their infancy for adoption; these affectionate fathers and mothers either dispose of their little ones for a consideration, or, in their generosity, give them away under the condition, in either case, that they "never see their darlings any more!" An old acquaintance of mine who has been in the country about twelve years, has two married daughters, both of whom have imbibed American notions of conjugal duty and motherly affection—each has given away an infant, and each has left her husband. I have reason to believe that both these girls were ruined as wives by the habit of living in boarding-houses, when left there without domestic occupation, and like all idle people, exposed to temptations of the worst kind.

It appears to me that the natural affections of the sexes in this country are perverted, and that passion or self-interest are the only attractions which draw them together. If the wives and mothers of a nation are not in a healthy moral condition, their offspring are not likely to enjoy the blessings of domestic happiness. In the towns many of the young women are ruined by vanity and false notions of personal independence. Pride of dress is rampant in all ranks, a masterly self-will sets them above advice, and there are few who will bend to parental authority. Fashion is a tyrant among the women of all grades. Four times a year this great despot, like an inexorable magician, waves his wand of change, and all

of womankind appear in new costumes. Think of a working-man's partner being obliged to decorate her head with four different styles of bonnets in the course of twelve months! In the country, young women are instructed in all the household duties; but in the towns it is difficult to find a girl who can darn a pair of stockings, much less do the duties of a domestic establishment.

As a general rule the young women who come to this country as domestic servants, particularly the Irish and the Dutch, have many difficulties to encounter during the time of their probation. In either case these girls come from a country where the manners and habits of the people are of a very primitive character, and as a necessary consequence the social and domestic appliances are both simple and few in number. Life among the middle and upper ranks of society is decidedly more artificial than it is in the aristocratic circles in Great Britain. The simple and homely habits of the early settlers have long ago been superseded by a luxurious mode of living, and the refined tastes and manners of Old World gentility are burlesqued by being over-done. Of course this description of social life applies to town society—but even in the country there is a good deal of walking upon the stilts of modern fashion.

The relation of domestic servants to their bosses is often of a very unsatisfactory character; both parties hold themselves to be free agents, and thoroughly independent of each other. The master of a private establishment might just as well ask one of his female helps to sweep his chimney, if such a thing were required, as to clean his boots or shoes. I was in the country a considerable time before I could learn how it was that so many respectable-looking men were seen

leaving their homes in the morning with every part of their dress—except their boots—clean and neat; I learned ultimately that unless they did the shoe-black business themselves, neither their servants nor their wives would condescend to perform such vile drudgery. For my part I really cannot see the difference, in point of principle or duty, between cooking a man's food, washing dishes and linen, and cleaning his shoes. Yet there is a conventional difference, and this distinction is so much a matter of servant-girl etiquette, that were a domestic help to disobey its requirements she would infallibly lose caste. Those Old Country girls who have something like a proper sense of propriety, and who are not above their positions, will do their duty regardless of the opinions of their own class; they know that their standing in society gives the lie to the doctrine of equality, and that the faithful discharge of their duty is the best proof they can furnish of their title to independence. Servant girls who are new to the country have more difficulty in following out their home habits in these matters than strangers would dream of; if they will not conform to the system by which their fellow-servants regulate their conduct, they will soon find any situation in which there are two or more servants too hot for them. No class of people know so well how to embitter one another's lives, when it suits them, as women of this stamp, nor is there any species of tyranny more unbearable than that which they exercise over each other. Among the female workers in America, dress everywhere forms the grand leading distinction; girls in shops and factories turn up their genteel noses at those among them whose dress does not come up to the standard of their own perverted notions.

In the American towns nearly all the people of social

standing have risen from the ranks ; it might therefore be supposed that this class of employers would be comparatively easy to serve. The reverse, however, is the case ; they are not only more harsh in their manners, but are decidedly more exacting in their demands, than those employers whose early training was in a more refined school. There are few servants employed by this class who are not measured by standards anything but flattering to their vanity. The following anecdote will illustrate the estimation in which some of the American employers are held by their domestic servants. The wife of a relation of my own—a clergyman who resides in the city of brotherly love—was speaking one day about some of her neighbours, upon which occasion she spoke of them as ladies and gentlemen. "Shure," said the servant-girl (an importation from the "sweet county of Down"), "there is no ladies nor gintlemin in this counthry, ma'm,—not won of thim has a drap of gintle blood in their vanes ; an' what is more, ma'm, there is none of thim a morsel bether than I'm meself, an' maybe not so good ; shure, ma'm," she continued, "nobody here has any titles ; there is no lords nor dukes, an' how can there be ladies an' gintlemin?" This girl's notions concerning the ladies and gentlemen of America are thoroughly endorsed by a large number of the working classes; a condition of things which can neither conduce to the comfort of the servants, nor enhance the respect due to their employers. There is frequently a peculiar looseness in the connection which exists between the domestic servants and their bosses. If a girl considers she is not treated as she ought to be, she packs up and is off,—or if she requires to absent herself from her situation for any special purpose, she will go whether she receives permission or not.

The right, or liberty, of having male followers, is generally conceded to servant-girls, but this liberty is frequently abused by the "fellows" becoming partners in the stock of creature-comforts to be found in their masters' cellars and larders. I believe there is no country in which servant-girls, who know their duty and are able and willing to do it, can enjoy so much real liberty. The principal difficulty a new comer has to contend with is that of getting fairly initiated into, what is to her, a new system of house-keeping. If she has not the good fortune to fall in with a kindly mistress, who will take the trouble to teach her the regular routine of the household duties, she may be driven like a shuttle-cock from one situation to another, until in all probability she lands in some disreputable establishment.

I have frequently had occasion to observe servant-girls leave their situations with the idea of bettering their condition, and going into establishments where large numbers of females are employed in sedentary occupations. This change in nine cases out of every ten turns out a serious mistake. Nearly all the females employed in these places of business lodge in boarding-houses. If the morals of a young woman are not destroyed by her associates in the workshop, she stands an excellent chance of being stripped of them in the house she has made her temporary home. The great majority of females in the warehouses have little or no certainty of permanent employment, and even with steady employment their wages would leave them but little after paying their board and washing. Both from personal observation, and what I have been able to learn, I find that very few of these girls make fortunate marriages. I do not see how it could be otherwise ; they are neither fitted for wives by a due regard for

the feelings and wishes of their husbands, nor a knowledge of even the simple rudiments of housekeeping. One of the worst traits in the character of this class of females is that they will not be instructed by their husbands, and as a proof of their obstinacy, one of their common remarks to each other when speaking of husbands is that they "would like to see a man who would boss them."

The late war must certainly have had a most disastrous effect upon the morals of a large number of females; many to my own knowledge unwived themselves in the absence of their husbands, and profligacy and prodigality were the order of the day. I can readily imagine how women belonging to the industrial classes could obtain expensive dresses before the rebellion, but it is not so easy to see how they could continue to do so when every article of wearing apparel had increased to at least four times the old price in consequence of the war. What are we to infer when a working-girl is able to give eighteen shillings for a yard-and-a-half of ribbon for strings to her bonnet?—this sum is equal to nine shillings English—and when the bonnets themselves, such as worn by the working-classes, range from six dollars to twenty, and mantles or cloaks cannot be had for less than twenty dollars? It is seemingly a matter of no consequence what people do for a living; they will have dress, and that too in the first style of fashion. I may here remark, by the way, that the German settlers have curious ideas of the fitness of things in regard to dress; these people as a general rule clothe their little hopefuls in all sorts of fantastic costumes. Little girls are decked out in young ladies' dresses, and their baby boys are stuffed into the costume of full-grown men, and the most decided and

incongruous colours are those most in use. The German loves his vrow, his rosebuds, tabak and lagerbier.

I certainly would not advise a working-man with a young family to bring them out here, particularly if he intend to settle in a town. As I have already said, children, after having been in this country a short time, learn to throw off the restraints of parental authority; they are soon made to feel that they are in a land of liberty, and long before they arrive at the age of mature judgment, they are members of the sovereign people, and therefore conceive themselves equal to anybody and everybody. I do not know any task more difficult than for a father in this country to keep his children well in hand. Whether they go to school or pick up their education among their playmates, they are almost certain to imbibe notions of personal independence at an early stage subversive of all home authority. Self-reliance is no doubt a very desirable thing when not inconsistent with filial love and duty, but without these virtues it becomes a thing of mere pride and selfishness. I have heard the members of a family tell their parents that they were under no obligation to them, either for bringing them into the world or rearing them. Though this heartless doctrine may not always find expression in words, I believe it is but too frequently acted upon by young America.

The gallantry of the American men, the purity of sentiment, the refinement of manners and the amiable politeness of her women, have long been held up to the rest of the civilized world as moral and social traits of character to be admired rather than imitated. So long as women are in a decided minority, it is only natural that men should pet and flatter them, and it is not wonderful that the deference then

paid should be claimed by the darlings themselves as a prescriptive right. How far this constrained gallantry of the men, and the purity and politeness of the women, are really in advance of Old World morality, is another question, and becomes extremely doubtful when the rudeness with which women are treated in private is considered. If the gentlemen's gallantry were the result of good breeding, they would certainly avoid the use of profane language, expectorating regardless of time or place, and elevating their understandings in the presence of the ladies. These masculine habits, however, may be matters which foreigners do not understand in the every-day life of a people whose civilization is based upon human equality and social freedom. Fancy "the long-haired, unpolished, vulgar, fanatical abolitionists," as they were described by a public writer, "who imagined themselves in power because Lincoln was elected," attending the first receptions of the President, "with hats on their heads, overcoats on their arms, and carpet bags in their hands." But even this was not the full extent of their ill-breeding. "After the receptions, finding the hotel accommodations either costly or insufficient, it is said that many of them slept upon the floor of the East-room, using their portmanteaus for pillows and their overcoats for blankets; and, as might have been expected, these persons committed all kinds of outrages upon the furniture, and did not hesitate to appropriate any small articles within reach." So disgraceful were these proceedings that Marshal Lamon was compelled to issue a semi-official notice on the subject, and he even ordered the arrest of some of the offenders. This may serve to show what a highly refined set of men are to be found among the law-makers and lobby trimmers of the capital.

From the general tone of morality, the almost utter disregard of parental authority by the members of the rising generation, I can scarcely conceive how girls can be trained free from the contagion of pride, selfishness, and a disregard for the feelings and interest of their neighbours. It is true I had but little opportunity of mingling in society much out of the sphere of my own class; but what little experience I had has convinced me that the difference in female manners is not very marked. If a man in a public situation, such as a steamboat, railway-car, or theatre, kindly gives up his seat to accommodate a woman, the chances are about a hundred to one that she will spread her crinoline without even a look of acknowledgment. I have been served in this way scores of times. A short time ago, while passing through a wicket-gate in one of the parks in the city of Newark, a lady-like woman was within about ten yards; I held the gate open until she passed through, she did not deign to look me in the face; as she passed on I took off my hat and thanked her with a bow; I shall not soon forget the withering look of feminine scorn she gave me—her pride was touched and she felt the force of the rebuke. It is in the small courtesies of life the members of society can make themselves most agreeable to each other; this, however, is a part of social science which is not much practised by the womankind of Uncle Sam. In all large and populous towns, pedestrians have to feel the inconvenience of the crowded thoroughfares; but in all such cases common civility demands that the people should give way to each other. The women of America regulate their conduct by a different rule. If a bevy of these fair dames take up the whole breadth of a pavement, physical force may break their line of march, politeness certainly would not. In the

reign of James V. of Scotland, his half savage nobles were wont to fight for the crown of the causeway when they met each other with their respective retainers in the streets of Auld Reekie; it was well for them that the ladies of that age had not studied women's rights, and the equality of the human kind, whether in kilts or crinoline.

It will naturally be supposed that American women are extremely modest, both in their words and actions, when it is known how much of our good English phraseology has been altered to save their pure minds from the contagion of rude words. For instance, not to mention other examples which might be adduced, our honest old "bull" has, with much good taste, been knighted into a "gentleman cow." I have no doubt but that his bovine majesty must feel proud of his new title. How excessively delicate, and how virtuously pure a woman's mind must be, before her thoughts wander from the things signified by simple words to others which are not in question!

Generally speaking, the male and female members of the human family are mutually drawn to each other; but as the greater attraction is vested in the female, the men, like so many Sinbads, in their tiny barques, are constantly being drawn to their rocky charms by an irresistible force. This law of human magnetism seems in some measure to be reversed in America; the active power of attraction is changed, and instead of the lovely dears containing their vestal souls in patience, they frequently find themselves impelled to rush into the arms of their other halves. "Surprise parties" are things of daily occurrence, many of which are duly chronicled in the newspaper press. The following is from the *New York Mercury*.

"An Early Surprise.—A few evenings since, as the bunkers of Madison Hose Company, No. 37, were wrapt in the arms of Morpheus, and peacefully dreaming of their loves and other good things, they were brought to their feet very suddenly by a loud noise at the door, and a cry of 'Turn out!' The boys pretty quickly answered, when lo! they were surrounded by a party of pretty damsels, headed by White's minstrels. As soon as the surprise was over, and the surrender completed, all hands proceeded to the ball-room, which is about fifty feet long by twenty-five feet wide, where the fun was opened by the band performing some choice music. Sets were then formed, and dancing kept up until two o'clock, when the fire-laddies were escorted to a bountiful supper, prepared by the ladies. After doing the eatables justice, the party again proceeded with the dancing. There was also some fine singing by the Misses C——ll, and some more of the ladies, with songs from Mr. W. B——n, Mr. H. P——n, and Mr. J. N——y. The committee for the occasion were Mrs. J. H. F——n, Miss M. G——t, Miss A. D. B——e, Miss C——ll, Miss C. G——t, Miss D——r, Miss Lydia C——ll. The party broke up at six o'clock in the morning, and not a few of the bunkers were heard to say as they went to bed for a few hours' rest, 'I wish they would come again.'"

The members of the fire brigades are often treated in this manner at their stations by hordes of young misses whose modesty would be outraged if told that a cock had crowed, or that a bull had played the devil in a china-shop. Surprise parties are quite common in both town and country. They are got up in the following manner:—A number of young ladies club together and purchase a quantity of desirable food, wine and spirits, all which is sent to the residence of one of the

party most suitable for the purpose, and a number of young men are then invited to attend; the "fellows" are expected to find music—love is stimulated through the stomachs as well as the eyes and ears of the guests; the time is spent in eating, drinking, dancing, and romping. The bold freedom, as well as the manner in which these meetings are brought about, would scarcely suit the half-civilized taste of the people over the way. The philosophy of these social fashions may very probably be found in Pope's essay in which he says:—

Whatever is, is right, if rightly understood.

Go-aheadism is as common among many of the women in the United States as it is in the ranks of the men. When at home, it is quite a common practice to come and go without asking leave or taking counsel. Matrimony in the old country is looked upon as a bond of union effected by mutual affection; but from what I have witnessed, a goodly number of both sexes here possess very different ideas upon the subject. The philosophy of "adaptability" regulates the conduct of not a few married people who have promised to love, honour, and obey. In the first blush of married life many of the young men and women mistake passion for that deep-seated feeling which should unite two sympathies in one; and when they find that they do not run smoothly together in matrimonial traces, one or the other flies off. These *halves* of disappointed beings are to be met in every direction, and if one of these ladies should have the misfortune to become a mother, ten to one but she will relieve herself of the responsibility by transferring her child to a stranger for adoption. Women do not wear the charms of youth long under the changing temperature of America; they are aware

of the melancholy fact, and as a consequence the fast ladies make up their minds to enjoy life as best they may, and so long as their feelings are warmed by the fire of youth.

Within the range of my own experience I have known several second-hand wives who were sailing under the black flags of widowhood, and fishing for other experimental partners. The peculiar notions of personal independence indulged in by the women's rights' ladies in America, has been the means of placing a great portion of the fabric of female society in a false position. Woman was evidently designed to be the companion of man, and as he is stronger, both mentally and physically, it follows as a necessary consequence that he is a power above her; this power, however, when properly exercised, is directed to shield her from harm as well as be a means for her support. The class of ladies I refer to take a different view of the matter; they are not content to hold the position Providence has placed them in as handmaidens to the men, but they too must be rulers beyond the regions of the kitchen and nursery. In thus speaking of the American ladies, I allude to that large class whose notions of equality lead them to be more than the equals of their husbands. If a man marries a woman who has been employed at any of the sedentary avocations, and cannot place her in a house of his own fitted up to her taste, she will prefer to take up her residence in a boarding establishment, where she can have a good table and enjoy the luxury of idleness, and have both time and opportunity for flirtation. I was in the company of a woman a short time ago who had left her husband because, among other things, he did not allow her more than thirteen dollars a week, out of which she had to provide food for themselves and a baby; the husband paying rent, coals,

and clothing. This model wife was the partner of a sober, hard-working man. The father has the child, and she is performing in the character of a young widow in a boarding-house in another State, two hundred miles from all her woman's heart should hold dear.

The following paragraph, taken from the report of a meeting of the World's Health Association in New York, furnishes a pretty fair specimen of the strong-minded American ladies. I dare say this sort of modernized females are very amiable and loving creatures when they are allowed to have full swing both over their own actions and those of their friends,—but, in my humble opinion, they are by far too exalted to be either wives or mothers. It would seem that the wearing of petticoats is a positive degradation to these unfeminine females, and it is, therefore, high time that they should assume their proper position in society by employing tailors instead of mantua-makers.

"The 'World's Health Association,' which met at Hope Chapel on Tuesday, reassembled yesterday, Dr. Thrall, of the water-cure establishment, in the chair. The object of the convention is to show that cold water is the only antidote for the various diseases which afflict humanity, which should be resorted to as a medicine. Dr. Spaulder, of Pennsylvania, delivered a long and carefully prepared address on the subject, exposing the various quack medicines imposed upon the public by unprincipled practitioners of the allopathic school, and contending that the results which have been attained from proper hygienic treatment have been so satisfactory as to render hydropathy one of the most successful and popular modes of medical treatment now in use. Several ladies participated in the proceedings of the convention, and, by

way of variety, entertained the audience in short lectures on the subject of women's rights, dress, fashion, &c. Mrs. Jones, one of the lady speakers, in concluding her address, hoped that the time was not far distant when ladies could *wear what they pleased, do what they pleased, go where they pleased, and return when they pleased,* without being under the control of men against their wills."

It is a melancholy fact that nearly all the really dissipated people one sees are either natives—or the immediate descendants of natives—of the British Isles. It is true that many of the Germans swill large quantities of *lagerbier,* but as this liquor is not so intoxicating as ale they seldom get drunk with it. The German element in America must ultimately exercise a considerable influence over the mind of the entire community: as a body they are plodding and industrious; their religion is a sort of philosophical Christianity, or, more properly, rationalism diluted with Christian truths. The Protestantism of the American Germans is just the opposite of Scotch Presbyterianism. The former allows freedom of innocent action on the first day of the week the same as on any other, while the latter causes its members to become gloomy Sabbatarians, who endeavour to propitiate the Deity by acts of slavish fear.

My reflections upon female society in America have been made through no wantonness of feeling. On the contrary, I deplore with every right-thinking man the cause. False notions of personal independence have generated pride, selfishness, and extravagance. I know of no circumstance better calculated to prove a degeneracy of morals than that of female profligacy and flaunting ostentation. A good deal of this sort of artificial life has characterized female society

in both France and England of late years, but it must be borne in mind that these nations have royal courts to lead the fashion. The American people repudiate all such slavish notions as court influence affecting either their dress or manners, and yet they improve upon both in extravagance. The following article, copied from the *New York Herald* of September, 1864, being the fourth year of the most terrible civil war ever recorded in the history of human struggles, gives a fair idea of female extravagance in the upper ranks of American society. We are told that bonnets at a hundred dollars each are made to adorn the heads of fast ladies, but, large as this sum really is, it is a mere trifle when compared with the full-sailing canvas of some of the virtuous daughters of the Union. In some instances the price paid for the mere trimmings of a lady's dress would be a fortune to a man of moderate desires—but let the *Herald* tell its own tale.

"Far away the dull boom of cannon, the shrill, sharp report of musketry, the shrieks and groans of the dying, may be heard. There the brave soldiers of the North are battling to preserve our glorious Union. We hear none of those direful sounds here—take no heed of them in this gay and crowded metropolis. Here fashion and pleasure, not grim war, reign supreme. Here music and festivity are the order of the day, not carnage and strife. Never was New York so brilliant, so captivating. We never before made such active preparations for a season of enjoyment and gaiety. Our *élite*, our aristocracy of money, our shoddy people, have run their mad race of extravagance and show at the fashionable watering-places, and are returning to commence in the city a season of unparalleled display.

"All classes are taking advantage of the recklessness and

extravagance of the day. Now that pleasure, fashion, and expenditure rule our people, those who cater to this spirit of extravagance have become as daring and reckless as the crowds they serve, and are playing a game of follow the leader, which would have driven the past generation wild with dismay. Our theatres and other places of amusement have increased their prices fifty per cent.; but this has had no effect upon the masses. On the contrary, it is a noticeable fact, a sign of the times, that since the increase of prices the audiences have increased in number. In short, increase is the order of the day. Once upon a time people were content to drive two horses, and even one, before their carriages. This summer nothing short of a four-in-hand was considered the *ton* at Newport and such places, where some of the extra refined shoddy gentlemen drove as many as ten or twelve magnificent horses at a time. The ladies, in a spirit of emulation, got up pony teams, but were not content to drive a pair. They harnessed three, and then five, together, and had postilions and outriders, and made a show which grew greater as the season lasted. The mind becomes bewildered when reflecting upon what would have occurred had the season not drawn to a close.

"Taking its cue from the extravagance of the summer season, the city is preparing to outshine itself during the fall and winter. The theatres have all brightened up and refitted, and have, as we have said above, raised their prices. The opera will be more than usually attractive and brilliant, and has also raised its price. The negro minstrels have been seized by this contagious spirit of increase, and their prices have been raised. Our fashionable shops — milliners and such like—have given themselves up to the mania of high prices with an *abandon* which is fearfully admirable. A

lady's bonnet—a little piece of velvet and a flower—to cap the climax, now costs one hundred dollars, and cannot be manufactured fast enough to supply the demand. Silks, satins, and laces now cost their weight in greenbacks. Gloves are worth what was formerly considered a week's salary for many people, while other styles of dress have increased in like ratio. The wonder of it all is that, spite of these high prices, the consumption is greater than ever. But never before was the general expenditure of the citizens of this metropolis so liberal, so extravagant.

"We are decidedly on a general rise. See the bills and posters all over the town—the gigantic posters—and yet we know that paper is excessively dear. The German Opera, to keep pace with the spirit of extravagant display, has obtained the whole side of a square to paste up a huge bill in sight of all New York. Other places of amusement emulate this reckless display. From one end of the city to the other we constantly have before our eyes the evidences of an unusual and extravagant expenditure. We have kept pace with this spirit—were forced to do so in self-preservation. To drive away the crowds who besiege our office for more papers than we can possibly publish—there is a limit to human energy and enterprise—we raised the price of the *Herald*. More people came than ever. We were overrun with advertisements, and raised our prices. We now have so many advertisements that we don't know what to do with them, and would like to make the fortunes of three or four other journals by handing them over our surplus, were it not that the public desire no other medium than the *Herald*.

"We have no desire to check the extravagance we have been depicting—are well aware that it cannot be stopped.

We simply wish to call the attention of the world in general to our great prosperity, and ask it collectively whether such a people can be foiled, or could fail in putting down even a more formidable revolt than that of Davis and his misguided followers. This, and nothing else, is the point of our article, and we recommend it to the careful consideration of all our neutral friends."

I have inserted this statement for two reasons: in the first place, to expose the utter recklessness and profligacy which characterize the upper ranks of American society, while the blood and treasure of the country were being lavishly wasted between the opposing members of the same family; and in the second, to furnish proof, if that were wanting, of the shamelessness with which the big broadsheet stoops to puffing!

I can remember the time both in Scotland and England when a belief in witchcraft formed a fixed part of the faith of a large number of the people, but that was before the era of free schools, and antecedent to the development of the newspaper press. The great body of the working people were then educated by the simple process of social contact, and as a matter of course their prejudices and superstitions were communicated as essential lessons to the young, as a part of the traditional lore which had been carefully handed down from father to son, through many generations. As the mind of the people became enlarged the old and fondly-nursed ideas of witches and good and evil genii gradually died out; the age of fancy gave way before the utilitarian march of science and art; and as time wore on, the youthful members of society laughed at the silly superstitions which exercised such powerful influence over the thoughts and actions of their

forefathers. A belief in supernatural agencies in the British Isles still lingers in many of the agricultural districts, and numbers of the uneducated people fondly cling to a faith in *evil eyes*, and in men and women who can foretel future events. The schoolmaster has not been abroad in these favoured localities—neither have the magicians of science waved their disenchanting wands over them ; the people therefore continue to live in the age of their grandsires, and though general society may press forward in the race of civilization, they hold on to the immovable pillars of the *status quo*.

The old-fashioned notions which exercised so much influence over the hopes and fears of great numbers of the people in my boyish days, when fays and fairies controlled the actions of men unseen, have given place to a new order of things. Like the garments we wear, there may, and no doubt is, a fashion even in our faiths, to which we become wedded for the time being. As the Americans are the smartest, and by far the best educated people in the world, it may be taken for granted that they know how to regulate all their every-day affairs without the aid of seers, star-gazing philosophers, or people upon familiar terms with undistilled spirits ! This, however, is not the case, and I question very much if there is any class in the civilized world, who rely so much for information relative to the concerns of every-day life, on the truly reliable class of fortune-tellers, as the American ladies. There is not a town in the United States in which numbers of modest astrologers, clairvoyants, and spirit consulters may not be found revelling in the luxury and idleness procured for them by the money of a credulous people. I have known women of social standing who had recourse to these second-sighted public benefactors whenever

they wished to obtain information, either about their own concerns, or the affairs of other people in which they may have had a friendly interest. The newspaper advertising columns are continually embellished with statements in which the wonderful occult power of these people is set forth. The lady professors among them are not only in the habit of relieving the minds of their confiding patients by foretelling the good things the gods have in store for them, but in many instances they persuade their credulous dupes to purchase magic powders, with which to charm the men they would wish for husbands, or occasional lovers. If these human vampires were only consulted by the uneducated classes, I should have passed the subject without a remark; but the fact that many of them support splendid establishments in fashionable localities furnishes a good proof that the education of the people has not raised them above the grovelling superstition of the most ignorant members of Old World communities.

Before concluding this subject, I may mention that it is quite a common thing for unmarried females to have recourse to very dangerous expedients in order to procure and retain the affections of young men. A great variety of charms are used, and the "fellows," without being aware of the fact, are continually under the influence of opposing love-spells. Administering a certain drug to young men, although decidedly dangerous to life, is by no means an uncommon occurrence among the husband-hunting virgins of the United States. I have heard of more than one young man who has had his moral perceptions blistered out of him.

> Happy land where souls each other draw
> By charms, instead of obeying Nature's law.

CHAPTER VI.

THE CITIES OF AMERICA—NEW YORK.

Changed Condition of Society and of Social Arrangements in America—Character of the Houses and Furniture—Mode of Heating—Street System of American Towns—Character of the Warehouses and Public Buildings—Use of Marble—Metropolitan Character of New York—Shop Signs and Awnings—Telegraph Posts and Rails—Sanitary Appliances—Dust Middens—Cleanliness of the Streets—The Fire-brigade System—Turbulence and Immorality of the Volunteers—Commercial Taste and Enterprise—Transparent Coffins—Hearses and Burials—Sketch of Broadway, New York—Barnum's Museum—Public Flag-staff—Variety of Character and Nationality in New York—Mr. Greeley and Mr. Bennet—Slums of the City—Rowdyism of Public Men—Scenes in Congress—Violence in the Streets of New York—Beautiful Situation of the City—Sketch of Central Park—Comparison with English Parks—How the People are misled by Trading Politicians and Press Writers.

The mixed races of people on the American continent has been the cause of producing not only a change in manners and habits, but everything connected with their social and domestic requirements has been altered to suit their new condition. Every man coming to the United States must make up his mind to begin life afresh. To the young, in whom pliability of mind and body is natural, the change is not difficult, but to the aged, whose time-honoured impressions are a stereotyped part of their being, the case is very different. So far as personal comfort is in question—such as eating, drinking,

house-room, and clothing—the working people live much better than the generality of the middle classes of England did little more than fifty years ago. In the large towns the majority of the houses are built of brick, but there are a large number of frame-houses, many of which are occupied by people of high social position. These wooden erections are very different from the frame-houses common in England up to the early part of the present century. The American frame-house, like almost everything else in the country, is not built to battle with time, whereas the old English mansion, with its solid oak ribs, was made to stand the test of ages through sunshine and storm. I have always had a great veneration for these antique erections; to me they are land-marks in the march of British progress in civilization, and memorials of the steady character of John Bull, and they also furnish a proof of his love for things of a solid and enduring nature.

Notwithstanding the flimsy nature of the American shanties they answer the purpose of the time being, and, were it not for their great liability to become food for fire, make on the whole comfortable dwellings. The old English and Dutch settlers have left the impress of their domestic habits upon the people of the present age. Cleanliness is, therefore, a prominent feature in the people. The habit is highly commendable in a country like this, both in a moral and a sanitary point of view. I have already noticed that the floors of the houses of even the poorer classes of the people are covered with bits of carpet; this arrangement not only saves labour in scouring and scrubbing, but in the winter is the means of economizing heat, which is a matter of no small importance, and it has the further recommendation of giving

a furnished appearance even to the humblest dwelling. The furniture, too, is generally good in the houses of people of prudent habits, and is sufficiently varied to answer every purpose of domestic use. In fact, the houses in their internal fittings generally evince a degree of thrift seldom seen in the dwellings of the same class in Great Britain. I may here observe that the furniture in use by the higher classes seems to be an exception to all the other social appliances in the country; it is both neat and durable, and varied to suit the taste and convenience of a highly artificial state of society. All the houses occupied by people of means are heated and ventilated in the winter by warm air-pipes from stoves in their basement stories; the sitting rooms and other apartments for the reception of company are fitted with neat and comfortable stoves. In the Eastern States of America the atmosphere is never contaminated with smoke. All the coal on the east of the Alleghany Mountains is the hard, bitumenless anthracite. This coal is well adapted to burn in stoves; it gives a strong heat and is totally without flame. If, therefore, men's enjoyment of life solely depended upon the possession of the things enumerated above, the Americans should be a happy people.

The towns which have risen in the United States during the present century have all been laid out in keeping with notions of modern improvement. The streets are spacious and made to intersect each other at right angles. There are none of the zig-zag lanes and thoroughfares with sharp angles and deep shades which give a character to the medieval-built towns of the Old World. Instead of this in-and-out system, all the streets are straight lines, and form so many vistas in which the vision is frequently bounded by the hazy distance. To me the principal and most pleasing feature in the American

town thoroughfares is the sylvan aspect they wear in the summer season, by having trees planted along the outer border of the foot pavements. These umbrageous adornments form so many natural arcades, and are invaluable during the warm weather for the cooling shade they offer to the pedestrians who otherwise would be broiled by the scorching rays of the sun. The picturesque effect of this arrangement is particularly observable when looking down some of the long avenues, with spires, towers, turrets, and domes, peering from out the surrounding trees with their many-shaded foliage. The streets, too, are not only spacious, but the side-walks are in many instances wider than some of the London thoroughfares.

As already observed, many of the town-houses are of brick; the most of the houses, however, occupied by the commercial aristocracy stand out in dignified relief, being built of stone. Many of the hotels, warehouses, and public buildings are veneered with white marble: these buildings are mostly in the Roman and Venetian styles of architecture.

The New York Town-hall and the Treasury Hall of the United States are both of white marble; the latter building in the Grecian Doric, and the former in the Roman style of architecture. The Exchange, a little below the Treasury, is a very fine building of granite in the Ionic style; this, I look upon as by far the best building in New York, either private or public. In my opinion the use of marble for warehouses, shops, and hotels has little to recommend it, except the expense and consequent ostentation of display. The monotony of these buildings in clear warm weather, with the power the stone possesses of reflecting the rays of light, makes them exceedingly disagreeable to the sight; to my own eye any

colour is better than none. The use of white marble in the construction of public buildings, on the other hand, is to be commended, as the nature of their designs and isolated positions admit of their lines being varied by light and shade.

The same spirit of rivalship prevails in New York among the lordly merchants as that which entirely changed warehouse architecture in Great Britain about thirty years ago. I can very well remember the time when there was not a warehouse in Manchester, Leeds, Bradford, or Glasgow, having more pretension to beauty of form than a common barn, and the same applies to the wholesale warehouses of London. It is a fact that more rapid fortunes have been realized by both manufacturing and commercial men in Great Britain and the United States during the last thirty-five years than at any similar period so far as is known of the world's history. The following are among the causes which have produced these results: the application of steam to machinery, by which the power of production has been amazingly enlarged; the extraordinary development of chemical science, by which natural productions have increased in value; an entirely new, cheap, and rapid means of transit; a new system in the division of labour in nearly all branches of industry; and, in addition to all these advantages, a more straightforward, honourable, and expeditious method of transacting business between the buyer and seller.

New York may be said to hold the same position in the United States that London does in Great Britain, and this rapidly expanding capital of the New World is the accredited centre of commerce, fashion, and political power. The city stands on a ridge of volcanic stone, from which it slopes to

both the Hudson and the East river; the central elevation causes the town to be easily kept clean and in a healthy condition—but more of this anon. There are many things which mar the beauty of the streets in New York and the American towns generally. The telegraphic companies, instead of laying their wires under the streets or over the tops of the houses as in Great Britain, carry them along the side walks on rude unsightly poles; these undressed supporters are not only an eyesore, but they are obstructions to street travellers. Many of the streets, too, are disfigured by unseemly posts, which support awnings and boarded coverings which stretch from the shop fronts to the kerbstones. In most instances these posts are converted into signs, covered over with very plain letters, or rude emblematic figures indicative of the business within. At the tobacco store you are not unlikely to run against a wooden figure representing an Indian, a Highlander, or a grand Turk; the gouty boot with red or yellow-faced top, and the ladies' slipper, meet the eye at every turn in both town and village. Generally speaking, you may see a jeweller's sign half-a-mile off; you are not sure, however, whether you are looking at a convexed dial of a clock, or the imitation of a watch seen through a magnifying-glass, until you are near enough to see the handle.

Some of the sanitary appliances connected with the domestic arrangements of the people, remind me very much of the city of Edinburgh. Scarcely a house is provided with a midden-stead or dust-hole; the housekeepers have therefore to leave their ashes and other refuse in boxes or barrels in front of their houses, in order to be carried away by men who collect the sweepings. I observed while in New York that carrying away the dust is followed by private gentlemen as a

business; in passing along any of the genteel up-town streets between six and seven A.M., numbers of these speculators in dust and trifles may be seen emptying the contents of the ash-boxes into their little waggons. The fronts of the private houses are kept clean by being swept or washed before seven A.M.; the pavements are not only swept, but the same operation is performed on a considerable part of the street to the centre of which the sweepings on both sides tend. In seeing this sort of work done in the front of first-class houses, a stranger cannot help feeling interested by the appearance of the persons employed. This genteel business is mostly performed by men of colour; there is no mistake about the high respectability of these people; they are dressed in the first style of fashion, most of them have gold chains (which I should say gave them no personal inconvenience), and they are all ornamented with rings on their fingers. The fact is, many of these dusky gentlemen look more like the proprietors of the mansions they are hired to swab than paid helps. If equality is the order of the day, I really do not see why an ebony gentleman who lets himself out by the month or year should not be as good as a gentleman of any other colour who obtains his living by the same method?

All the world's a stage, and all the men and women merely players.

The characters and scenery in this giant nation, that in the future will eclipse all the rest of the world in lofty thought and mighty action, are only different in the degree from the players and their adjuncts elsewhere. The greatest among them are occasionally pleased with rattles and tickled with straws, and like the inferior races of men in the kingdoms of

the Old World, they too are slaves to their stomachs, and worshippers at the shrine of fashion.

There is much interest taken in the management of the fire department in all the towns of the United States; both the engines and the other necessary apparatus appear to be constructed upon the most improved principles, and even ornamented with much taste and ingenuity. In Great Britain the fire departments are under the authority of the municipal officers in the towns to which they belong, the members of the brigades are trained to their duties, and are in the charge of responsible managers. Things are conducted upon a different system in the United States; each city is divided into a certain number of districts; these districts are each supplied with engine-house, engine, fire-escape, truck, hose, waggon, and complement of men. In all the towns in the Union the majority of the members of the fire-brigades are young men who become amateur firemen for the excitement the business affords, but among them there are not a few "snappers-up of unconsidered trifles." As a general thing the members of these brigades have a special pride both in their own efficiency and in the power and beauty of their apparatus, and the feeling of pride thus induced necessarily begets a spirit of rivalry. There would be no harm in this, if their ambition tended to the protection of life and property; but unfortunately the contending factions very frequently find it more congenial to their feelings of honour to settle whose engine is the best, or which party is entitled to precedence, à la Donnybrook, than to extinguish the fires, however pressing the case may be. A stranger upon witnessing the exciting races and savage howling of contending brigades, tearing along the public

thoroughfares on their way to a fire, with their trains of thieves, rowdies, and ruffians, would immediately conclude that the town was at the mercy of an infuriated mob. The fact is, the whole volunteer fire-brigade system, with its open immoralities and dastardly ruffianism, is a disgrace to the age.

One of the worst features of this institution is that of allowing numbers of young men to bunker in the engine-houses; a practice which converts these places into dens of vice in which the sexes hold nightly revel. In New York there are one hundred and twenty-five engine-houses, with a like number of engines and brigades; the entire corps numbers nearly four thousand members. The whole of this body, with the exception of the necessary officers, own no man as master. And though the system claims to be a voluntary one, the expense of the department for the city of New York during 1864, amounted to 515,976 dollars. The amount paid for bell-ringing alone was 58,000 dollars.

The evils of the fire-brigade system have not passed unnoticed by the authorities, and the incubus has been shaken off by Boston, Cincinnati, St. Louis, and Philadelphia.* Before responsible paid men were put in charge of the fire departments in these cities, the amateur fire-brigade ruffians were the lords of the ascendant, and ruled both the people and their municipal affairs as they pleased. The fact is, that during the old system in Philadelphia neither life nor property was safe, inasmuch as the generality of the fire-brigades were lawless bandits. The following report of an encounter of rival

* To which, I believe, must now be added New York, a notice to that effect having appeared in the public papers since these pages were sent to press.

companies in New York in the summer of 1864 will give the reader a small idea of the reckless character of the men forming these forces :—

"On Monday evening last a serious collision occurred between Engine Companies 16 and 45, at the corner of Houston Street and Second Avenue, in which fire-arms were recklessly used. A pistol shot discharged by a member of Engine Company 45, took effect on the person of George Schwatz, of Hose Company 16, but the wound is not dangerous. The attack of the assailants was so desperate that the members of 16 had to skedaddle for shelter, leaving their apparatus behind them, which their opponents roughly handled. None of the rioters were arrested.

"Again, between one and two o'clock on Tuesday morning a most desperate fight took place at the corner of Cortlandt Street and Broadway between the members of Engine Companies Nos. 40 and 53. It seems, from information derived from some of the members of both companies, that an alarm of fire occurred on Monday afternoon in the seventh district, between the hours of four and five o'clock, which was the cause of first bringing the two companies in contact with each other. The route taken by these companies for the above district is as follows:—Engine Company No. 40, whose location is in Elm Street, proceeds down Broadway, and Engine Company No. 53, whose location is in Washington Street, proceeds through Reade Street to Broadway for a fire in the above district. At this junction, it appears, it has been usual for both companies to meet, and a general rivalry ensues between them which shall reach the fire first. The members of Engine Company No. 40, observing No. 53 coming up Reade Street on Monday afternoon, turned down

Reade Street, and rounded to behind No. 53, in order to drive them out first on Broadway.

"This attempt on their part created a general fight between both companies, when cart rungs, stones, &c., were freely used, and several badly cut and injured. By the prompt action of Engineer T. L. West and Terence Duffy, foreman of Engine Company No. 53, they were soon separated, and one company compelled to proceed through Church Street to the fire, while the other took Broadway.

"Between one and two o'clock yesterday morning the bells again sounded an alarm for the seventh district, when both companies proceeded as usual on their old route to the fire, and in case they should come in contact with each other, several members, anticipating trouble, armed themselves for a general fight. Engine Company No. 53 came out into Broadway from Reade Street, about a block ahead of No. 40. As soon as the latter company observed their antagonist, they started off under full headway, yelling and hooting at the members of No. 53. At the same time several outsiders, who could not be identified as firemen, and who were running on the side walk, commenced throwing stones at the members of No. 53, and when they reached Cortlandt Street the greatest excitement ensued between both companies. There they came to a standstill, when the police, observing a difficulty brewing, got between them to prevent any disturbance. Notwithstanding their efforts, several of the firemen got engaged in a regular fight, when suddenly several pistol-shots were fired from the side of Engine Company No. 40, and soon afterwards quite a volley, when the police were compelled to retreat for their own safety. Not less than sixty shots were fired, clubs being freely used and stones thrown in every direction. It is said that one

of the engines had her box filled with stones and clubs. The fight for a time bid fair to result in great loss of life: but Assistant Engineers Timothy L. West and James Long both being early on the ground, rushed to the scene of action, and after a lapse of some fifteen or twenty minutes, succeeded in separating the combatants. Engineer West had, it is said, a very narrow escape from being shot." New York may surely be congratulated on having at last freed herself from this ruffianly organization.

The display of variety of design and ornamentation seen in the windows of coffin manufacturers in New York, is well calculated to furnish matter for reflection, both of a serious and amusing character. Competition is said to be the life of trade; the emulation of the coffin-maker in the progress of American civilization has to all appearance kept pace with the enterprise and ambition of the sons of commerce, and he too strives to mount the hill of prosperity in the race of trading rivalship by the beauty and elegance of his production. If the New York undertaker has not revived the use of the Roman urn in which the earthy matter of the dead was preserved, he has invented a very excellent substitute in a coffin with a transparent lid, through which the facial lineaments of the dead may be contemplated.

To me there is something repulsive in the huckstering exhibition of these gilded coffins. Men do not require to be reminded of their mortality by that display of pride which intrudes upon the public gaze with vulgar ostentation. These costly artistic trunks are made to be admired by people who have no interest in their contents; and in order that prying curiosity may be satisfied, the hearses in which they are conveyed to their places of final destination are so constructed

that their interiors can be seen. The hearses in America as a general rule, are very pretty things, and in many cases much ingenuity is displayed in their construction; some of those I have seen are beautiful in form and chaste in design, their make and decoration contrasts favourably with the great lumbering befeathered waggon-boxes which were introduced into Manchester fourteen or fifteen years ago. Instead of heavy mouldings, and rudely carved panels which evince a want of taste as seen in these hearses, the American carriages are panelled with plate glass, some of which are ornamented with suitable devices, by no means destitute of artistic merit. The principles of adaptation have not been lost sight of by the American undertakers; the taste of the cabinetmaker, and the genius of the upholsterer are called into requisition at the instance of bereaved mothers or disconsolate widows, by which the lengths of their purses and the strength of their undying affections may be tested. Some of the baby coffins are really very pretty with their pure white satin linings fringed with lace, plate-glass panels in the lids, French polished fancy wood, and silver or silver-plated mountings.

Burials are serious matters to the poorer classes of the people. An interment, conducted in what is called a decent manner, costs from 25 to 30 dollars, and among those who possess more pride than prudence, from 50 to 100 dollars. Among the higher orders embalming is common, and of course their funerals are costly in proportion. There is a fashion in these things, and all fashions must be paid for—dust to dust.

No account of the city of New York would be even tolerably complete without a notice of Broadway. This thoroughfare, with its heterogeneous styles of architecture, is not only the emporium

of commerce, but it is the great promenade of the beauty and fashion of the American new-born aristocracy. The Americans, true to the principles of republican simplicity, have an honest hatred of titled nobility obtained by Royal Letters Patent. The Broadway aristocracy are an independent race of people; their patents are the produce of cents multipled, and that, too, irrespective of how they were obtained. It is true that some of the Old World gentry hold honours which were purchased by very questionable means, and that if some of them had their honest deserts, their Garters would be hemp for the neck instead of gilded brocade for the leg! It is a melancholy fact that people in Europe have not attained to that high state of civilization which would enable them to turn up their vulgar noses in dignified scorn at what they foolishly consider honourable distinctions, like their more exalted brethren of the United States. My reader, however, must not conclude that crude notions of equality level all social distinctions. There is an untitled aristocracy both in New York and the other great cities of the Union, more haughty and exclusive than any within the region of Belgravia.

If an Irishman were describing Broadway, it is very probable he would call it an "eligant street." It is certainly a magnificent thoroughfare, both for its spaciousness, its length, and the palatial character of many of its buildings. Several of the stores (*shop* is vulgar) and warehouses are handsomely ornamented, and from the nature of their sites must have been costly erections. In this great resort of fashion and mart of business, many of the shops and warehouses are characteristic of the go-a-head nature of the people. There may be seen Yankee notions—barber's boudoirs, porter-house dives, lottery offices, genteel men decorators, photographic

artists, artificial teeth manufacturers, coffin-makers, plain and fancy jewellers, and five cent showmen, princely dry-goods storekeepers, oyster-cellars, theatres, and clam chowder shops, gambling hells, and palaces for ladies who have outlived female modesty. The greatest showman of modern times has his place of amusement in this street at the corner of Park Row, and notwithstanding his being the humbug par excellence of the age, his museum affords a cheap treat to those who wish to be agreeably entertained: the people feel this, and, as a consequence, give him the benefit of their patronage and twenty-five cent notes. Barnum is an indefatigable caterer for the public. Nature cannot make a blunder in the formation of animal life, from a dwarf to a giant, or from an interesting idiot to a fast lady, but he is sure to seize upon it. His "What is it?" was a nondescript being, caught in Central America—in reality a poor idiot girl, neatly incased in a skin-tight dress, which disguised her sex, and charmed the wonder-loving public with a new mystery. It is not long since this master of deception excited the fashionable society of New York, from the Battery to the upper extremity of the Fifth Avenue, by having a pair of human abortions united in the holy bonds of matrimony. Tommy was a good card in his juvenile days, and Barnum* found him no bad trump as a married mannikin. I have more than once thought if this gentleman could get hold of some European king who had

* In his exceedingly modest *Autobiography*, and lately in his *History of Humbugs*, Barnum has mentioned the name of David Prince Millar in a sneering manner. All the world knows that the big American showman owes his success in life more to his barefaced effrontery than to any talent he possesses. Morally, Mr. Millar is a much better man than the fabricator of the woolly horse—and as a professional showman, he is a long way Barnum's superior.

been dethroned, or even a duke—I mean a living specimen of either—that the speculation would be a profitable one. I can assure my reader that though the Americans justly and rationally hate both kings and dukes, there is no class of animals known in natural history they would so gladly pay to see. I am also convinced that if one of these Old World creatures would condescend to shake hands with them at so much a wag, the honour would be greedily sought after and liberally paid for.

Several of the American people with whom I have conversed, entertain the wildest notions respecting Old World institutions. It is commonly believed, for instance, that the Queen of England is a great drone, who devours a large portion of the produce of the people's industry, and that she holds the lives and property of her miserable subjects in her power, and that the working classes are mere serfs. The nobility, too, are held to be so many tyrants, who grind the poor as it may please their lordly wills. It is affirmed that there is no real social, political, or religious freedom in the country. It may be said that people who believe these things belong to an ignorant class; *they* do not think so, and those who are better informed would not feel much pleasure in removing their prejudices.

The manner in which Broadway is disfigured by huge business banners, which are swung from one side of the street to the other, is calculated to impress a stranger with the idea of being at a country fair in England, where the rival showmen appeal to the public through magnificent daubs. Flagstaffs in the American towns are almost as common as the chimneys on the houses; every person who can afford a bit of bunting advertises his loyalty to the Stars and Stripes, or the

triumphs of party, or they hang out their banners to join in the flaunting chorus of every jubilation which may excite the public feeling. The public flag-staff, too, is an American institution; these splendid poles, with their gilded vanes and caps of liberty, stand out in relief in all the public open spaces in towns, cities, and villages throughout the States; they reminded me of the maypoles which occasionally embellished the village greens in England in the early part of the century.

The American people are largely under the influence of animal magnetism. Whether they are drawn to the levée of a Tom Thumb or to a hobnob with the Russians, the safety-valves of their joyous feelings are sure to be opened when the Stars and Stripes flaunt over their churches, public buildings, and private dwellings. I have no doubt that the everlasting display of the national emblem when the public mind is excited, is as fitting a manner of giving expression to the feeling as any other. The people love and venerate this emblem of their infant nationality, and should occasion offer, they would flaunt it in the face of the world in arms!

I have no intention of describing Broadway in detail. The *coup d'œil* seems to combine the leading features of Regent Street, London; Sackville and Grafton Streets, Dublin; Market Street and Deansgate, Manchester; Lord Street, Liverpool; and Argyle Street, and the Salt Market, of Glasgow. In short, it is a splendid thoroughfare filled with magnificent shops and warehouses, gambling dens, and rare shows with tinsel embellishments. The moving panorama of human life, as daily seen on the Broadway Pave, presents a curious and interesting picture to the student of ethnology. There you may see the lean lanky Puritan from the east, with keen eye and demure aspect, rubbing shoulders with a coloured

dandy, whose ebony fingers are hooped in gold. The shaking quaker from the vicinity of Albany with his anti-procreative notions, and the modern seers who hold communion with—fudge? Men from the far west, with devil-my-care swagger and strong beclayed boots; greenhorns from beyond the big Pool, with slouching gait, and toggery made by men who whip the cat; fast men of young America who look upon themselves as the only real finished specimens in creation; men of the Ward Beecher caste, who live by sensation efforts; strong-minded ladies, in the formation of whom nature made a small but important mistake. There, too, may be seen the flaunting pennant of the free rover, redolent of paint and aroma, turning up her virtuous nose at the strong-minded lady who lectures upon the superiority of the female mind, the indignity of healing wounded button holes, reducing dislocated stockings, and the folly of rearing brats and studying domestic economy. You may also recognize men from Cincinnati or Chicago, who have mounted the ladder of fortune on hogs' backs; rock-oil princes, from the wild regions of Pennsylvania, and coal lords from the same regions of mineral wealth. The observer, while sauntering along this great American Boulevard, may by no uncommon chance feast his eyes upon one of the living characters of the city, in the person of the man who manufactures the editorials of the *Tribune*. This gentleman's walk and costume can never fail to arrest attention: he looks like one of those tub-philosophers who set both public taste and public opinion at defiance; decked out in drab pants, blue coat, and slouching white hat, a stranger would suppose that his body was in search of his truant mind. In person Mr. Greeley is tall, well made, and on the whole good-looking, but these fortuitous advantages are marred by a careless lounging

gait, and the appearance of a state of oblivion to external objects. Greeley belongs to the metaphysical school of philosophy; he has dabbled in all the *'isms* and *'ologies* from Mormonism to biology, and has even rapped information from the denizens of the invisible world. Politically he has no connection with dirty Dick over the way. Bennet and he are the opposite poles of the human magnet, and frequently amuse the sovereign people by their onslaughts upon each other. I have never seen the great American journalist, but knowing the locality which is said to have been honoured by his birth, I can form a pretty good idea of his personal appearance; I would therefore suppose him to be rather low set, stout built, with large head and strong facial lineaments, these being the general characteristics of the Aberdonians. This adventurer from the "land of the mountain and flood" will have left the impress of his genius upon the mind of the American people, which will remain long after he has passed away, but his labours as a public instructor will neither be of advantage to the nation, nor reflect honour upon his memory. Above all the public men now living in the United States, Bennet has been the most barefaced panderer to the vanity of the populace; and he has nourished a feeling of undying hatred against the people and the institutions of the country of his birth. I can well imagine a man honestly giving the energies of both mind and body to his adopted country, but he is a base renegade who would do so at the cost of all that he should hold dear in the memory of his fatherland. In a worldly point of view, the master of the *Herald* is a shrewd man. When he arrived in America he must have made up his mind to make money, and if such was his high resolve he has kept it most religiously; but he may comfort himself

with the reflection that no lying epitaph nor munificent legacy to a charitable institution will cover his mercenary character as a journalist with the pall of oblivion.

The unsylvan locality yclept the Bowery, is another of the great trading thoroughfares of the city: this is a sort of Jew's quarter, a Shoreditch, a Salt Market, and a Deansgate, rolled into one. This is where the pushing retail trade of the city is carried on, and where the lovers of bargains go to be skinned. Wall Street—the Capel Court and Threadneedle Street of New York—is one of the tributaries of Lower Broadway. If a stranger should wish a little amusement, let him go to William Street, corner of Exchange Place, any morning from ten to twelve o'clock, and he will be sure to witness a lively scene. He will see a crowd of men in a state of considerable excitement, some holding their hands up, others bawling at the top of their voices, one bids ten forty, another fifteen eighty, for such are the sounds bawled or muttered through the whole crowd. This is the out-door stock-market, and it strongly reminded me of the horse-betting men in St. Bride's Lane, London, and Stephen's Square, Manchester, or the similar crowds of gamblers who congregate in the squalid precincts of the Metropolitan Railway Terminus.

New York, like all other large cities both in the Old and New World, has its poles of social life. The region which skirts the Wharves with its seething purlieus, dens, and stinking stews, is the antipodes of the flowery land of the Fifth Avenue and its borders. The great wilderness of St. George's in the East in London, with its vast mass of struggling humanity, is much superior in its social features to the locality in and around the "Five Points." Were it not

for the vigilance of the law, and its prompt administration, I have no doubt but the savage nature of the mixed hordes of humanity in London or Liverpool would manifest itself with the same brutal freedom it does in New York. I have already observed that ruffianism in American society is not confined to the unwashed; the club of the vulgar blackguard is harmless when compared with the deadly revolver, or the no less fatal sharp-pointed steel of the Yankee gentleman. There is one circumstance connected with the position of New York, which must of necessity exercise a considerable influence over both the moral and social condition of her people—it is the landing place for all new comers to the great continent, and as a consequence, it is a city of refuge for a large number of the rogues and rascals who may have been obliged to fly from justice in other lands.

The warfare which is often carried on between the leading political factions is calculated to form a barrier to the proper administration of the law: men in power, instead of dealing out even-handed justice, feel themselves obliged to shield the creatures of their own party, and that too, at the expense of every feeling of honour and honesty. This crooked and selfish policy is calculated to exercise a highly demoralizing influence over the conduct of that class of men who are prone to set both law and order at defiance. It is therefore nothing strange that Loaferism in its most ruffianly character should be rampant in the large towns.

Some of my readers may suppose that the pictures of social life I have presented to them must be overdrawn. To clear myself from the suspicion, I quote the following remarks from the *New York Times* itself, in whose columns the article was headed—"Blackguardism in the House."

"While our soldiers," says the writer, "are baring their breasts to the storm of war, with a heroism that makes all true men proud to be their countrymen, the representatives of the people are besliming the American name with their unclean tongues. No decent man can read the scurrility bandied in the sitting of yesterday without shame. Though but a meagre outline of it is reported, it excites absolute disgust. It passes comprehension how gentlemen—and we know there are some in the body—could sit so quietly, and endure the exhibition in all its foul reality. Talk of purging the House by the expulsion of Alexander Long! Alexander Long is Hyperion himself in comparison with the members who, at such a time as this, can indulge in such mutual abuse. Fallacious as were his arguments, disloyal as were his sentiments, Long in no wise infringed upon the dignity of the House. His words were the words of a gentleman. They were words that could be neutralized by sober reason, and leave no stain. The feeling they aroused was pure and generous indignation, which is a feeling essentially healthful and invigorating. They sickened no man with disgust. Men could listen to what he said and breathe freely—could sternly rejoice even that it gave truth one more chance to grapple with error. But no such sensation is possible in such a commingling of filthy spite as that of yesterday—Yahoo with Yahoo. The only effect is unmixed, overpowering loathing. The House ought to have purged itself on the spot. No silencing could have been too summary, no rebuke too severe. If the House has no care for its own dignity, it at least has no moral right to allow such ribaldry to be thrust upon the people, who have a sense of the requirements of civilized society, and whose hearts are now less than ever in a frame to abide the outrag

patiently. Blackguards are never so intolerable as when solemnity should rule the hour."

When the law-makers of the country can thus exhibit themselves before the world with their passions let loose and their tongues poisoned with deadly rancour, what can be expected from men in the lower strata of society? It is no wonder, therefore, that we read in the same columns of "The Epidemic of Crime and the Demoralization of Society"—of six cases of reckless bloodshed in seven days. "Standing on the cars in Chatham Street, one man is fired upon by a fellow-passenger, without any apparent cause, and dangerously wounded. In another part of the city two men get into a wordy quarrel on the sidewalk, and one shoots the other in the head. Again, a drunken difficulty occurs in a saloon between three or four men; they adjourn to the crowded street, revolvers are drawn, and one man is shot twice. On the same day a rowdy is pursued by a policeman; he draws a revolver on him; the officer, being the quickest with the weapon, shoots him down. In Brooklyn, at a political meeting, a ruffian draws a pistol and fires two or three times upon a man for no ascertained reason, wounding him severely, and when followed by the police he turns upon them and shoots a worthy and faithful officer to death. When arrested he proves to be a notorious burglar, half mad with drink, and can give no reason for his bloody work.

"This is not half the story," says the writer. "If we were to go back a few weeks we could enumerate many such acts in all quarters of the city, in some of which policemen in the discharge of their duty were the victims. This passion for violence, this wanton use of firearms, whereby the safety of every individual is imperilled, just at this time, can only

be accounted for by the disordered condition of the country, the familiarity with bloodshed which a great civil war always engenders in the masses, partially perhaps to the excitement consequent upon the approaching election; but, above all, to the demoralized condition of society—a condition, we regret to say, produced in a great measure by the writings in partisan journals like the *Tribune*, the *World*, the *Times* and the *News*, which foment hatred and ill-will, nurse the worst passions of our nature, and in many cases incite to riot and bloodshed. Recently the *Tribune* has become frightened and drawn in its horns. Visions of turbulent mobs and whisperings of *à la lanterne* to the eye and ear of Greeley have been useful warnings. The state of society by all these agencies has become thoroughly demoralized. We are walking in a wandering path. The times are out of joint. Shoddyism among a large class of the people, corruption in official stations, an absorbing passion for making money, and an insatiable desire for spending it, are the prevailing characteristics of the day. These are not the bases upon which to build public virtue or restore to honour and respect a great nation.

"When an epidemic afflicts a people the physicians go vigilantly to work to arrest its progress. The cure for our present epidemic of crime is a more active police and a more respectable style of writing in the partisan newspapers."

I am writing my impressions of men and things, and were it not for the boastful pretensions and inflated pride of the American people, I would be the last man to notice their follies or vices. The Yankees have no tenderness of feeling when they apply the rough scalping-knives of their criticism to the people or the institutions of other countries. "Men who live in glass houses should be careful to avoid throwing

stones;" so long, therefore, as the Americans use pungent sauce for other people's geese, they have little cause to complain of having the same sort of condiment served up to their ganders.

In all my experience I know of no town that is surrounded with so many natural beauties as the city of New York: the bay upon whose bosom she may be said to rest is really a magnificent sheet of water; the curving shores of Staten and Long Islands, with their headlands, form the pillars to the gate of the estuary, which from thence to New York is perfectly land-locked: the varied and highly picturesque landscapes seen from this bay require a bolder pen than mine to describe. Manhattan Island, with its rapidly expanding emporium of commerce, keeps watch and ward over the upper part of the bay; to the north-west of the city the high and rocky wood-crowned headlands of the Hudson (Fort Leigh) may be seen away in the hazy distance, and the city of New Jersey, like a thing of life, nestles on the low ground between the volcanic ridge on which the infant city of Hudson stands, and the river. The rising city of Brooklyn, with its navy-yards and large industrial population, embellishes the shore of Long Island for many miles. The zone of shipping which encircles many miles of the under part of the city, the numerous huge ferry steamboats as they pass and repass in almost every direction, the fleets of sea-going vessels riding at anchor, or passing in and out of the harbour, the river sailing-craft as they glide to and fro with their raking masts and white canvas, the trim-built pleasure yachts, and the numerous little high-pressure steam-tugs, puffing about with their gunwales scarcely above the water-level, and the quiet little islands which stud the bay, present an ever-

bustling scene of deep interest. Added to the above, I may notice the almost constant arrival of passenger ships, with their living cargoes of immigrants, whose faith in the United States and her social institutions caused them to leave the land of their fathers and all the endearing associations of their youth. Such scenes as these cannot fail to furnish matter for reflection to the minds of the most superficial observers.

Castle Garden will be noticed in a subsequent chapter in connection with the measures taken by government for the protection of immigrants. But I cannot dismiss the present topic without describing, however briefly, the "Central Park" of New York. This new-born pleasure-ground is made to ring in the ears of every person who visits the metropolis of the Western World. In the estimation of the New Yorkonians Broadway stands alone in the street thoroughfares of the world, and in their minds there is only one Central Park between Jullandur and the upper part of Manhattan Island. The park is situated about the centre of the island, and embraces eight hundred and fifteen acres. The numerous inequalities and the rocky character of the ground have been highly favourable to the designs of the artist, who has availed himself of its peculiarities in the happiest manner. The little ravines and dells have been spanned by a series of viaducts, each of which is characterized by a difference in the style of architecture. The Terrace, which forms the termination to the Mall, is in the centre of the ground, and is the chief place of attraction. The Viaduct here is of a chaste and handsome design; the pillars and turrets of the parapets are ornamented with very excellent carved work in which much of the indigenous Flora of the country is represented. The Terrace leads by two

broad flights of stairs to a circular platform below, in the centre of which stands a fountain with a *jet d'eau;* the base of this platform is washed by the principal artificial lake in the park, and as its shores are fantastically curved and margined by rocks, blended with shrubs and arborescent plants, it presents on the whole a very pleasing effect. The face of the lake is often very interesting from being covered with boats and gondolas flitting hither and thither at the will of their conductors. The grounds are intersected with well laid-out foot-walks and carriage-drives, and, if I remember rightly, the latter are sixty feet wide. These are kept in excellent condition, and the adjacent grounds are embellished with a great variety of shrubs and flowers.

The Park is certainly a very fine laid-out and well-kept pleasure-ground, but for the purposes of freedom of action and healthful recreation it cannot compare with the Phœnix Park in Dublin, nor with Hyde Park in London. In either of these the public have unrestrained liberty; the visitors who prefer the tortuous foot-walks or broad carriage-drives can stroll at their pleasure, and those who love the soft green carpet from Nature's loom can tread with elastic step upon the humble daisy and press the sweet fragrance from the wild thyme. In the Phœnix Park, the fairy dell, the gurgling brook, the shady coppice, the forest of fantastic thorn-trees and the entangled wilderness of brier, broom, and furze, are fit subjects for the lovers of nature, and amid this sylvan variety youth and age may wander at will. Both Hyde Park in London and the Phœnix in Dublin owe their chief charms to their unartificial character. The fact is, that in both of these pleasure-grounds art has been made subsidiary to nature, so that the charms of the latter have not been marred by the

ostentatious display of the former. The Park, like new wine, will no doubt greatly improve with age. I think, however, there has been a slight mistake in converting any portion of the grounds into a menagerie. I felt a melancholy sensation on seeing the four eagles perched in their cage—they looked like as many ornithological savans, reflecting over their past, present, and future condition; the deer, too, in their little patch, did not seem much amused at the prying curiosity of the visitors. The only animal, with the exception of the small collection of monkeys, who seemed to make itself at home was a land tortoise: this innocent reptile travels about his little patch of ground, with his house on his back, with all the independence of a real Yankee. The small collection of animals in the Park may please little boys and girls, but they are not likely to afford either pleasure or amusement to people of mature age.

It is not with any invidious feeling that I have compared this park with the metropolitan ones of England and Ireland, but I have only thought it fair that the people of Manhattan should know that there are public pleasure-grounds in the little islands over the way which are not without claims to distinction. Ask an Irishman the character of the scenery between the entrance to the Phœnix Park and the Gate at Knockmaroon, and all the pride of his impulsive nature will be seen in every muscle of his face as he recounts its beauties—describes the Sate of the "Lord Liftinant," the Mansion of the Secretary of Ireland, and the "eligint" reviews he has seen in the fifteen acres. Central Park contains 1,500 acres.

When a cockney wishes to refresh himself by scenting the soft and health-invigorating breezes which float over the undulating fields of his country, he has the choice of five

splendid parks, each differing from the other in its general features; these are St. James's, Regent's, Hyde, Victoria, and Battersea; and when he is disposed to take a day out of town, Kew Gardens are open to him, in which is to be found the largest collection of exotic plants in any one garden in the world; its soft well-shaven lawns, too, invite him to stroll at pleasure—or, if he have young hopefuls, to join in their gambols on the green slopes, or play at hide-and-seek among the dark evergreens.

In the Central Park there is no going off the walks without being brought-to by one of the guardian genii of the grounds, as a reason for which I have heard it asserted that the people cannot be trusted with unrestricted liberty, lest they should injure the plants and young trees. It cannot be that they would spoil the grass, for during a considerable part of the summer the whole surface of the ground is thoroughly parched. By chance it possesses one great superiority—people can be conveyed to it by the cars from the most distant part of the city, and that, too, at an extremely moderate charge; from Vesey Street, opposite Park Row, to the entrance of the grounds by the Eighth Avenue is nearly seven miles, and the fare for the whole distance is only five cents, or twopence halfpenny English. This is cheaper than travelling from Paddington to the Bank by omnibus for twopence.

I have conversed with men of social standing and of considerable intelligence, who were under the impression that the only parks in Great Britain to which the people have access are those of the nobility, and, of course, that they could only be visited on sufferance. I must take this opportunity of telling them that there is scarcely a town of importance in an industrial point of view between Inverness and Penzance

that is not supplied with a park. When I know the manner in which the people are misled through the newspaper press and the lower class of authors in reference to England and her institutions, I am not surprised at the ignorance and prejudice which so generally prevail. Those public instructors in America who find it both pleasant and profitable to minister to the anti-English feeling in the people, are not restrained even by common honesty, much less by delicacy of thought or sentiment. In my young days I remember having heard my own class of men conversing about America and the progress her people were making in the arts, in commerce and civilization, and they never failed to express their satisfaction at her growing prosperity, and to hold her up as a model of excellence in self-government. They were glad when they heard of the mighty developments of her natural resources and the surprising expansion of her trade and commerce; they evinced no mean jealousy of her rising greatness, and the wise and equitable character of her constitution has often been made a reproach to our own government.

In the same spirit, when Sir Robert Peel opened the ports of England to the produce of the world, the industry and enterprise of the American people were not forgotten in the new tariff; and more recently the mere impulse of humanity has caused much sorrow in England for the desolation of the country by civil war. Much has been done by a considerable section of the American people to weaken, if not destroy, this kindly feeling; and, while I write, nothing is more popular than a vain threat breathed against the "Britishers."

CHAPTER VII.

THE STEAM-BOAT AND RAILWAY SYSTEM OF AMERICA—STREET TRAFFIC.

Magnificence of American Steam-boats—Total Absence of Class Distinction among Travellers—Life on Board the Great River Steamers—Sketch of a Steamer trading between New York and Albany—Vast Extent and Completeness of the Arrangements—American Railway Carriages—Superiority of all the Arrangements for the Comfort of Travellers—Extent of the Iron Roads—Street Railways and Municipal Jobbery—Carelessness and Independence of American Railway Servants—The American and English Hotel System compared—Pleasant Scene at an American Dinner-table—Private Vehicles and Street Traffic—Superiority of the American Country Waggons—The Itinerant Tradesmen of American Towns—No Tallymen, thank Goodness!

THE various social appliances in America are highly characteristic of the energy, enterprise, and go-a-head nature of her people. First among these is her wonderful steamboat system of conveyance; her river, lake, and sea-going vessels are huge floating hotels in which all the comforts, conveniences, and luxuries of civilized life are at the command of all who can afford to pay for them. One of the peculiar features of travelling in America is the almost entire absence of those social distinctions which everywhere form class barriers among the denizens of the old feudal world. Aboard of these boats the educated gentleman and the civilized savage enjoy in common the same privileges, occupy the same saloon, and pace the deck together when it suits their taste or convenience. In

them everybody is at home; men of all countries, states, and conditions mingle and move about without restraint. Music lends its charm to keep the limbs of the passengers in pleasant exercise, and gambling-tables enable the "smart" men to skin such members of the green family as may fall into their hands. As an illustration of the character of some of the gentlemen who make steamboats their home, take the following anecdote:—

Three gentlemen, to all appearance, travelling in a Mississippi steamer, had their attention arrested by a seedily dressed, but supposed to be rich, cattle-dealer who was returning to the West from New Orleans. The swells passed themselves off as men of business, and in order to pass the time invited the old man to a game at cards, at which they were innocently engaged. He refused for a time, excusing himself as being ignorant of the game, but they pressed him, until at last he good-naturedly consented to oblige them under the condition that the stakes were to be small. When he commenced play he quietly took a large roll of notes from his pocket, from which he selected all the small class he could find; the bait took; his greenbacks would soon be transferred. The stranger was allowed to win a few hundred dollars; by-and-by, however, he lost both the money he had won and the whole of his small change, after which he was quietly preparing to retire from the table. Seeing this, he was pressed to remain. The conspirators assured him his luck would change; he excused himself by observing in a careless manner that he had no notes under 500 dollars; one of the trio offered him change, which, after some little demur, he accepted. Immediately after this the old man required to go on deck; the gamblers remained, and flattered themselves with the

prospect of a golden harvest when their victim returned. Their prize, however, was gone; the steamer had stopped for a few minutes at a small station, and the pseudo-cattle-dealer, who was made up for the occasion, was quietly enjoying his success with five hundred good greenbacks, in place of the forged note which the swells retained as a memorial of his simplicity!

I have reason to think that the passenger steamboats—particularly those which ply long distances—are infested with gangs of professional sharpers. The California steamers are specially honoured with the most ruthless set of rogues unhung. From all I can learn, these vessels are the veriest hells imaginable, in which neither life nor property is safe. Even the ordinary steamboats on the Mississippi are far from safe. Immigrants are compelled to protect themselves by appointing regular watches, who mount guard by night, with loaded firearms, to save their property from being plundered.

At one time I thought the river steamers on the Clyde were a very commodious class of vessels, but when compared to the passenger steamers here they are mere cockboats, and the Thames steamboats are little better than children's toys. The fact is, there is no place in the world where such means of water transit could be called into requisition as in this country, with its immense rivers and inland seas. To form anything like a just estimate of the American passenger steamers and their heterogeneous human cargoes, a person must travel in them, and mingle in their motley crowds of varied nationalities. A man who wishes to observe the social habits and different phases of the American people and enjoy nature in some of her most grand and beautiful features, will find ample means for reflection both in the aspect of men and things on board one of these floating leviathans.

I had the pleasure of being taken through the St. John passenger steamer, while lying at New York, and I must say it was a treat of no ordinary description. This vessel is 417 feet in length; she is a regular liner between the cities of New York and Albany, and can accommodate 1,000 passengers. Her sitting saloon is really a magnificent apartment, and supplied with all the appliances necessary both for comfort and pleasure. The saloon is more than 300 feet in length. The floor is covered with a rich Turkey carpet. A number of fluted pillars with gilded capitals range down the centre, and each of these pillars forms the centre of a series of lounging settees. Similar conveniences are scattered at intervals through the whole apartment, and mingled with them are beautifully designed walnut chairs, while all the sitting and lounging appliances have spring seats. This saloon has a neatly balustraded gallery running down each side, by which means one part of the passengers can look down upon the other. Six hundred berth cabins are ranged along the port and starboard sides of the saloon and galleries. Several large and very handsome gaseliers hang from the centre of a neatly corrugated roof, the gas for these being made on board. The dining saloon is on what may be termed the first floor; this apartment is quite in keeping with the one already described. The kitchen and cooking departments are in the forward part of the vessel, and are as complete in their apparatus and arrangement as modern science and good management can make them. The vessel has four stories, three of which are appropriated to the use of the passengers, and the fourth contains freight and luggage. I may mention that when this floating hotel has her cargo of 500 tons, she only displaces four feet and a half of water—she is therefore

flat-bottomed. The fare from New York to Albany by this vessel is two dollars, including a berth, the distance being 160 miles. Dinner may be had at any hour after noon, price one dollar.

The railway carriages in America are a thousand years in advance of those in Great Britain. Instead of the passengers being packed into small jail cell compartments with naked boarded seats, or like cattle stowed away in dirty, gloomy, open carriages, as is the case with parliamentary and third-class plebeian passengers, all classes of the community are able to travel with ease, comfort, and convenience. The cars forming a train are open from end to end, through which a signal line communicates to the engine-driver. Each car is seated in the form of a saloon: an open passage runs along the centre. Thirty-two seats, each made to accommodate two people, range along both sides: these seats are neatly cushioned both bottom and back; the backs are reversible, so that the faces of the passengers should turn in the direction of their journey, or if parties of four prefer to do so, two on each side can sit face to face. In the winter season the cars are all heated with stoves. The passengers are not confined to one car: if a person does not like his company or position he can move from one car to another until he suits himself. There is no distinction of class in these conveyances, the President and the Yankee notion-pedler pay the same fare and enjoy the same accommodation. Men of high social positions find there is no use in their retiring behind their own greatness while travelling. Every man, however humble his calling, knows and feels he is one of the sovereign people, and therefore will admit of no distinction by which the possession of wealth would set one man above another.

The cars which pass over long journeys are fitted up with sleeping couches, and all the trains are provided with water-closets, lavatories, and smoking saloons: each car has a platform at either end, from which enquiring passengers can have a view of the landscapes on the line of march. There is certainly not that distinction in the personal appearance of railway travellers in this country that there is at home; the operative tradesman dresses as well and is as much in the fashion with his clothing as the merchant or manufacturer for whom he may work. A stranger upon taking his seat in a morning train car would fancy he had entered a reading-room, from the fact of nearly every one of his fellow-passengers being in the company of a daily newspaper. So far as my own experience enables me to judge, I must confess that the general bearing of railway travellers in America is decidedly more orderly, and they possess more respectability in their personal appearance than the same classes do at home.

From the manner in which the passengers are seated in the American railway cars, there is no fear of deeds of personal violence, or those disgraceful assaults which are frequently being made upon females in close carriages. I do not know whether it arises from parsimoniousness or from an utter disregard for the comforts of the working-classes in Great Britain, that the railway companies manage their business in the manner they do; but the people will have themselves to blame if they do not insist upon a thorough reformation in the whole system, so far as travelling accommodation and the personal comfort of travellers is concerned. Although the comfort of the first and second class passengers is attended to by superior arrangements, it is well known that the

railway companies are more indebted to the pence of the third-class passengers for their dividends than to the pounds and shillings of the other two classes.

I believe the American railways up to this date extend their iron arms over a distance of fifty thousand miles. Now that peace is restored, and the social machinery of the country again allowed free play, the great railway system must ultimately be the means of opening up vast resources in the country which otherwise would remain unknown, or beyond the reach of men. On the Great Pacific route, it was possible to travel twelve hundred miles without change of car, before the close of last year—this being the distance from New York to St. Louis—on the broad gauge track of the Erie and Atlantic and Great Western Railroads, in forty-four hours. This great through route to the Mississippi (says one of the American papers) is undoubtedly destined to become, if it is not already formally designated as such, the great eastern link of the Pacific Railroad. It is composed of the New York and Erie Railway to Salamanca, 415 miles; the Atlantic and Great Western Railroad proper, from Salamanca to Dayton, 385 miles; the Cincinnati, Hamilton, and Dayton Railroads, to Cincinnati, 60 miles; and the Ohio and Mississippi Railroad, to St. Louis, 340 miles. This great road, which was commenced in 1853, is not yet fully open to the public, its locomotive engines and freight and passenger cars not being ready. Of these it is to have 200 locomotive engines and 5,000 freight and passenger cars, which are to be finished early in 1865, and these are to include not only luxuriant sleeping cars, but dining cars as well; and to complete the catalogue of comforts which are to be afforded the through passengers from New York to St. Louis, will

require only that the company shall put on a bathing car, and then a man may step aboard from the Hudson and forget the outside world until he catches a glimpse of the Father of Waters. The completion of this line, it is expected, will reduce the time between New York and Sacramento by one day at least.

The new system of passenger conveyance which has now been introduced into all the large towns of the United States by horse cars drawn on railway tracks, is found to be a great public convenience, and decidedly more economical than any other mode of transit. In the city of New York the railway cars are never off the streets day or night the year round. In travelling by these conveyances a stranger would readily conclude that the citizens had nothing to do but air themselves at five cents a head. In this city a man may travel the length of a block, which is one hundred yards, or he may travel twelve thousand eight hundred yards, which is eight miles, for the very moderate sum of twopence halfpenny English. Beside the railway horse cars, stages or omnibuses traverse the streets of New York in every direction; several of these ply to the various ferries where steamboats like floating castles are continually sailing to and fro in every direction.

After saying so much in praise of these achievements it will not be thought invidious if I add, that in the formation of the different lines of railway in America the public safety has been little, if at all, cared for. Streets, public thoroughfares, and highways, are traversed and crossed at all sorts of angles, everywhere exposing the lives of the people to danger. As a natural consequence, accidents of the most serious character are constantly taking place, but as life is a thing

of small consequence, the mutilation of a limb or the extinction of a human being are matters which only trouble the little circle who feel a direct personal interest in the sufferers. I have been informed that the street railways for the horse cars are likewise becoming a nuisance, both on account of their dangerous character, and the impediments they offer to the general street traffic. It is further worthy of observation that many of these lines are the results of municipal trickery, dishonest jobbing and gross corruption, and the proprietors not only form dangerous monopolies, but their position enables them to set public opinion at defiance when opposed to their interests.

Seeing that the habits of the American and British people are so much alike in many of their social arrangements, it seems somewhat strange that their means for passenger transit should be so different. I have shown the great distinction which exists between the English steam-boat and railway systems and those of the United States. In the former country, however, there are several appliances which are totally wanting in the latter. Every town in Great Britain is supplied with cabs sufficient for the town-travelling accommodation of the people. These vehicles are both handy and economical. Every railway station, too, has its cab-stand. In London there are nearly four thousand of these modern travelling machines to enable people who may be engaged in changing the *venue*, either upon business or pleasure, to take time by the forelock and reduce space by rapidity of transit at a trifling expense.

In Dublin, the capital of Ireland, the want of the English cab is compensated for by the Irish jaunting-car. This Milesian vehicle also affords cheap and expeditious convey-

ance. The cab fare in London is sixpence a mile, with sixpence for each fractional part of a mile; in Dublin, however, a man may ride from one extremity of the city to the other for sixpence and a "Thank *yer anner!*" into the bargain.

So far as travelling is in question, I conceive the people in Great Britain have several conveniences which are wanting in the United States. Every railway station and steamboat wharf is supplied with a sufficient number of responsible porters, who are always ready to remove passengers' luggage to wherever directed. The railway porters in England, Ireland, and Scotland, are, taken as a whole, a civil and obliging set of men; and, what is of no small consequence to travellers, careful in handling their luggage: if I am to believe the following letter, the same cannot be said of the railway servants here.

"I wish briefly to appeal to you," says a correspondent of the *New York World*, "and ask you if there cannot be any remedy for the long and wilful abuse of railroad companies against the public. The unnecessary breaking and destroying of baggage and goods of the community and travelling public by the employés of our railroads throughout the country, and particularly of the New York and Erie roads, are without reason or justice. A person's light baggage—it makes no difference how valuable or how new, and how choice he has kept his trunks—are thrown from car to platform and back, and dragged over the pavements and rough plank as though they were iron or logs of wood. I never saw a backwoodsman load and unload wood more carelessly than I have seen these employés handle trunks. A new leather trunk, that cost fifty dollars, in loading and unloading on the cars twice, is not worth a third its original value, when it could as well and

quickly be done with no more damage to it than a Broadway manufacturer would do in delivering it within this city. I came by express from Buffalo with a sole-leather trunk that cost me sixty dollars. I think it was only loaded and unloaded once, and when it got here the top was smashed in, and I sold it for fifteen dollars.

" I cannot travel any distance but my baggage is damaged at least one-half its value. I have seen new trunks dragged over the plank and pavements, entirely cutting and tearing off the leather, when one man could easily have carried the same. It is unnecessary to multiply examples, as there is no exception to the general rule of destruction. I think I only speak the feeling of the public when I say that if we do not pay these railroad companies sufficient to have our baggage carefully handled, let us have our fare even doubled, and then give us men that will handle our baggage with at least ordinary care."

But it is in the old-fashioned British hotel system especially that I think the comfort and convenience of travellers are provided for in a manner far surpassing the barrack-like accommodation and oppressive routine of the great American establishments. It is true, however, that men's sense of comfort and propriety depends a good deal upon the social habits of the people in the country where they reside. Had such an occurrence, for example, as I am about to relate, happened in any English hotel, society would have looked upon the affair as a national disgrace. Yet the circumstance occurred in Washington, and must be regarded as quite in keeping with the notions of propriety and fitness prevailing among the genteel members of the American community. A member of the legislature, while at the dinner-table in a

mixed company of both sexes, expressed an opinion in Yankee fashion about the conduct of a certain member belonging to the opposite party. The cap seems to have fitted a brother legislator, who instantly rose against the offender in downright porter-house fashion, and a rough and tumble struggle took place, in which the attacking party was likely to come off second-best. Seeing this, another fire-eating legislator flew to the rescue, floored his friend's foe with a wine decanter, and then tried the solidity of his bones with a chair! Neither the ladies nor gentlemen suffered in the least from this ruffianly dinner accompaniment, and after the belligerents had gathered themselves up, in Dutch fashion, the dinner proceeded as before. This is the land of liberty, and the men who are deputed by the people to make laws would consider their character as gentlemen at stake if they did not resent any real or imaginary insult offered them, and that, too, regardless of time or place. Habit is everything. Men may form totally distinct and opposite ideas of the same thing by reason of their being familiar with it or otherwise. The old code of honour, which politely invited a genteel sinner out of his warm bed to be shot before breakfast, might not be morally correct, but at least it was not tainted by the vulgarity of a pot-house brawl, or the treachery of the ready revolver or the assassin's knife. Moreover, it has long been a thing of the past, having gone out with knee-breeches and top-boots. In trying to account for such little episodes as the above, which give variety to hotel-life in America, one is apt to regard a modern American as an exaggerated Englishman, with an infusion of Hibernian blood in his veins, and this may explain much.

The vehicles in use by people of means are very different

from the British domestic carriage. The buggies, or light waggons, are mere skeletons, and to a stranger appear extremely frail things. Both the wheels and the bodies of these waggons are very light and slim : indeed this is so much the case that a person cannot hear their approach on a smooth road until their proximity becomes dangerous. Among the class of people who are styled Big Bugs, there is a considerable rivalship as to who should have the most showy equipages : many possess carriages of European make, but the light waggon prevails over all others. Some of these are very handsome and require only a small amount of physical force to draw them. If any of my readers should visit New York, by taking a stroll to the Central Park any fine afternoon, a good opportunity will be afforded them of studying the taste of the Big Bugocracy in the character of their equipages. As a general thing the American horses are a fine spirited class of animals : they are not so large as the British, but for action they are fully up to the mark of our best breeds. In breaking they are trained exclusively to the action of trotting, and in this they excell those of all other countries. Owing to this method of training, these animals are well fitted to run in pairs, and as a consequence make excellent carriage horses. In the winter, when the earth is covered with snow, sleigh riding, both by night and day, is quite a rage among all classes who can afford it. Some of these machines are got up with much taste ; generally speaking, they are very light, and seem to glide over the snow with little effort on the part of the horses. Some of them are so small as to accommodate only one person, others hold four, and there are also large family sleighs, which will contain as many as a good-sized omnibus. In all cases the sleigh horses are decorated with a

quantity of small globular bells to apprise foot-passengers of their approach: if this were not the case, pedestrians would run continual risks of being run over from sleighs approaching them in all directions; even with the aid of the bells, it is often a difficult matter to steer clear of them. The horses appear to me to be as agreeably excited with the work as the people are themselves. While in the country, I have never seen a single gig, a dog-cart, or a handsome cab: the fact is, two-wheeled vehicles are entirely ignored in genteel society; it is true a common cart may occasionally be seen, but the waggon is everywhere in use, both in town and country. I dare say this may be accounted for by the very common use of oxen in the agricultural districts. The contrast between the waggons in use by the country people here and those common in England is very great indeed: in the one case a large amount of physical energy is uselessly expended, which is economized in the other. This is the region, it must be remembered, of "hurry up!"

To conclude my notice of the streets, the hucksters or outdoor tradesmen of American towns are a very different class of people from those who live by the same business in the busy haunts of industry in Great Britain. There is no being connected with the natural history of New York of the same genus as the London costermonger; I never saw any thing in the shape of a man between the trams of a hand-cart during the whole time I was in the country. The street-merchants in New York as a class are by no means numerous, indeed they are seldom seen, except about the bustling thoroughfares in the heart of the city, and on the streets running along the wharves. Socially speaking, these people are much superior to the same class in England; many of the

stalls in Park Row, and the lower part of Broadway, contain much valuable property. The following catalogue may be taken as a pretty correct list of the articles exhibited on the street-stalls in American cities :—Fruits and flowers, in their season; cigars, and fancy articles connected with the tobacco trade; books, newspapers, and periodicals containing light literature; jewellery, toys, and in a word, Yankee notions, which embrace all sorts of trifles and cutlery ware, in almost all its branches. The travelling town-dealers, if we except those in the wholesale trade, are very few in number. The milkman goes his rounds, not with a yoke and a pair of pails, but with a quick trotting horse and light waggon. The rag-gatherer with a number of bells hung across his waggon, perambulates the streets daily, and apprises the inhabitants of his proximity by his jingling music, which is kept in operation by the action of his vehicle. Market-gardeners, potato and fruit dealers, fishmongers, and charcoal vendors, go their rounds with a similar description of vehicle, and I may here remark that many of the fruit, potato, and charcoal hawkers are small farmers from the country. The whole of these street dealers, from the lowest to the highest, have a comfortable appearance, and when they do business it is with an off-hand manner and an air of personal independence which seems to imply that if there is any obligation, it is on the part of the customer. A greenhorn when making a purchase at any of the stores is sure to be disagreeably impressed with the manner of the free citizen who condescends to supply his wants; he will rarely be treated with even common civility, the fashion being to indulge in the very opposite of that cringeing sycophancy which prevails so much among a certain class of dealers at home. Several of the customs by which the

produce dealers regulate their business may suit them—but I think few of the purchasers who have been accustomed to a different method of being served, will consider that the advantages are mutual. Fruits of almost every description are sold by the measure; in this method of dealing there is a vast difference in the real amount of the article, as it may pack close together or otherwise; if, for instance, a man should buy two quarts of tomatoes, the one being filled with middling-sized fruit and the other large, the difference in weight will amount very likely to twenty-five per cent. I was amused upon purchasing the first watercresses I had in America, when I had a quart dealt out to me at six cents! In New Orleans, strangers have thought it equally strange to be charged a picayune for a teacupful of milk, and have stared with wonder when any vessel they took, however large, was filled for the same money.

A most reprehensible practice prevails among the butchers and other dealers in animal food. Instead of properly adjusted beams and scales, they are allowed to weigh their meat with the steelyard. I firmly believe that in nineteen cases out of every twenty the purchaser suffers loss. I know it to be no uncommon thing for a person buying a joint to find it deficient in weight as much as two pounds. If, however, the purchase has been made in a public market, redress may be obtained by going to the person who has charge of the public weights.

The country pedlers in the United States, like the same class at home, are fast passing into the historic period; the railways and the steamboats are rapidly destroying their occupation. In the early age of the country these people were often welcome visitors in the sequestered farmhouses;

they were not only dealers in such articles as were of every-day use, but they were newsmongers, gossips, and traders in small scandal; they therefore both amused and instructed their customers. That was before the age of the rail, and it was also before the age of the broadsheet. There is one circumstance connected with the pedling business which is worthy of remark, as affording another proof of the comfortable social condition of the American people, when compared with that of the working-classes at home. During my residence in the country, I heard nothing of tally-shops or tally-men, so well known in every town and in every rural district from Berwick-upon-Tweed to Penzance. These men dispose of their goods upon credit, and receive payment by fortnightly instalments. From the nature of their business they are liable to sustain much loss by defaulting creditors, which losses are of course covered by a high rate of profit; the honest customers are therefore made to pay for those who either cannot or will not. Apart from the high charges, this mode of doing business is in many instances very injurious to the interest of the working-classes. Among those who support the business by their custom, there are two classes of females, whose connexion with it is ruinous both to themselves and their families. The first of these are the wives of honest working-men, who have an inordinate love of fine clothing; the articles they require come to them without any trouble, and in their anxiety to possess them they do not take time to reflect how the goods are to be paid for; the consequences are that in nine cases out of every ten the poor husbands (if able at all) are made to pay for articles which, had their wives been prudent women, they would never have thought of purchasing. The hardship and inconvenience of

having to satisfy these demands is bad, but the exposure and expense attendant upon the action of a court make the matter doubly galling to any man of a well-conditioned mind.

The other class of married women I refer to are such as have fallen into dissipated and degraded habits; these females get what goods they can on credit from travelling drapers, after which they either dispose of them, or place them in the care of that class of gentlemen who stand in the relation of uncles to the public. It is hardly necessary to remark on the influence this business must exercise upon the character, comfort, and happiness of a large number of the labouring poor. But in the latter case it is evident that the dealers (generally I should say) enable dissolute women to bring destruction both upon themselves and their families. America is certainly happy in being free from these forms of social vice.

CHAPTER VIII.

EDUCATION—THE FREE-SCHOOL SYSTEM.

Educational Arrangements of the Early Colonists—Rise of the Free-school System—Organization of the Schools—Qualifications of Teachers—Comprehensive Plan of Instruction—Details of Classes and Studies—Contrasted Condition of the Country Schools—Report of the Superintendent for Wantage—Inefficiency of Teachers—Report of the State Superintendent of New Jersey—Superiority of the American System of Lay Management—Teachers' Salaries, and other Statistics—Character of the Superintendents—General Results of the Free-school System—Evil Results of the Mixture of Classes in the Public Schools—School Trustees and Female Teachers—Corrupt System of Appointment—Hatred of England taught in the Class-books—The School System in general highly honourable to America.

Among the various social institutions of the United States, the means afforded for the education of the juvenile members of the community by her public free-school system, is that which is most likely to arrest the attention of foreigners. So far back in the history of the country as 1692, the council and deputies in General Assembly came to the conclusion, "that the cultivating of learning and good manners tends greatly to the benefit of mankind." The immediate consequence of this wise consideration was the passing of an Act appointing men in each township in the colony to look after teachers and make good bargains with them, and see that they moved their schools around from one locality to another, so that the

inhabitants of each and every township should have a fair chance of "cultivating learning and good manners." This system was not exactly upon the plan of the peripatetics, where the young idea was taught to shoot beneath the sylvan shades of classic groves; but it had some relation to the hedge-school manner of teaching in Ireland less than sixty years ago. When it is known that the schoolmasters were engaged under the very prudent condition of being bargained with, which means their services were to be secured at as cheap a rate as possible, it may readily be supposed that their scholastic attainments and general fitness for the business of teaching were not likely to be looked upon as requisites of primary importance. Higgling in those good old times was the practice of the age; whether men bought knee-buckles or engaged domestic servants, they were in duty bound to prig. The school system, as it now exists, after having been remodelled and matured by nearly fifty years' experience, has much to recommend it as a national institution for training the youth of the country.

Every state in the Union possesses a fund created for the support of one or more free schools in each of its townships; the number of schools being regulated by the districts into which a town may be divided. The first section of the Free School Act passed in the State of New Jersey reads as follows:—"The Governor of the State, the President of the Senate, the Speaker of the House of Assembly, the Attorney-General and the Secretary of State, and their successors in office for the time being, be and are hereby appointed trustees of the fund for the support of free schools in this State, by the name, style, and title of 'Trustees for the Support of Free Schools,' arising either from appropriation heretofore

made, or which may hereafter be made by law, or which may arise from gift, grant, bequest or devise of any person or persons whatever."

There are three classes of schools which are entitled to a share in this fund; these are the ordinary free schools, schools belonging to religious sects, and incorporated free schools. The latter institutions are placed in a position very different from either of the others. Not only are they entitled to a full share of the State fund, but their trustees are empowered to levy a tax upon the ratepayers in the school districts by public meetings, and to hold property by purchase or mortgage. Every school is under the management of three trustees, who have not only the general management of the schools in their power, but they employ teachers, and give orders upon the town superintendent for their salaries. The town superintendent and the trustees are elected by the ratepayers, and it is their joint duty to select the books proper to be introduced into schools. The superintendent is also required to make a report in writing, and transmit the same to the State superintendent, on or before the fifteenth of December in every year. His report is required to contain an account of the number, state, and condition of the schools within his township; the number of scholars taught therein; the terms of tuition; the length of time the school has been kept open; the amount of money received by the town superintendent; the manner in which it has been expended, together with such other information as he may think proper to communicate, or may be required of him by the State superintendent. The State superintendent, I presume, is appointed by the executive of the State, and "the trustees for the support of free schools are authorized to pay annually, as they may deem expedient,

to the State superintendent of public schools, any sum not exceeding 500 dollars, for drawing reports, postage, travelling and other incidental expenses in the discharge of the duties of his office."

The duties of the State superintendent are considerably onerous. As already remarked, he is required to make an annual return, or report of all the schools in the State. In the aggregate these amount to 1,682, worked by 1,027 male teachers, and 1,283 females. These teachers had 143,526 boys and girls under their charge during the year 1863. As may be imagined, the superintendent has a large correspondence to manage; in addition to which, he is required to visit schools, settle disputes where the acts of the legislature are not understood, and make special reports to the general fund trustees when deemed necessary.

The qualifications for teachers are, that they be distinct and accurate readers, spell correctly, write a legible hand, and be well versed—first, in the definition of words; second, in arithmetic; third, in geography; fourth, in history, at least, in the history of the United States; and fifth, in the principles of English grammar. Added to these requisites, they must be persons of good morals, and possess an aptitude for the business.

The following routine of teaching and classification is taken from the board regulations of Paterson, a town in New Jersey.

Primary Department.—C Grade—Reading.—Letters and their sounds; spelling and reading from cards, black boards and primers.

Number.—The idea of number developed; their gradual increase taught; addition and subtraction begun, by counting objects or counters.

Object lessons; moral lessons; drawing and printing on slates and blackboards.

B Grade—Reading.—Spelling simple words and reading the first reader.

Number.—Addition and subtraction continued; multiplication and division begun.

Object lessons; moral lessons; drawing and printing on slates and blackboards.

A Grade—Reading.—Spelling and reading in second reader.

Number.—Continued through multiplication and division; reading and writing; numbers as far as one thousand.

Object lessons; moral lessons; drawing and printing on slates and blackboards.

Junior Department.—C Grade—Reading.—Spelling and definitions; reading in the third reader.

Arithmetic.—Fundamental rules; operations on the slate, blackboard, and mentally.

Geography.—Taught orally, with maps and globes.

Object lessons; moral lessons; drawing and printing on slates and blackboards; penmanship and declamations.

B Grade—Reading.—Spelling; definitions of prefixes and suffixes; dictation exercises in writing words and sentences; reading third reader and United States history.

Arithmetic.—Fractions; reduction; federal money; operations on slates, blackboard, and mentally.

Geography.—As in C Grade.

Object lessons; moral lessons; penmanship; drawing; declamations and compositions.

A Grade—Reading.—Continued as in B Grade.

Arithmetic.—Reduction and federal money reviewed;

compound numbers; operation on slate, blackboard, and mentally.

Geography.—As in C and B Grades.

Object lessons; moral lessons; drawing; penmanship; declamations and composition.

Senior Department.—C Grade—Reading.—Spelling; definitions of prefixes and suffixes; dictation exercises in writing words and sentences; reading; fourth reader and history.

Grammar.—Orthography, etymology, and parsing.

Arithmetic.—Thompson's practical; through denominate numbers; decimals begun.

Geography.—The Western hemisphere.

Familiar science; moral lessons; physiology; penmanship; drawing; declamations and compositions.

B Grade—Reading.—As in C Grade.

Grammar.—Syntax and parsing.

Arithmetic.—Thompson's practical; through proportion.

Geography.—The Eastern hemisphere.

Familiar science; moral lessons; physiology; penmanship; declamations and composition.

A Grade—Reading.—As in C and B grades.

Grammar.—Syntax completed, with a thorough review and parsing.

Arithmetic.—Through Thompson's practical.

Physical Geography and Chemistry.—Taught orally.

Familiar science; moral lessons; physiology; penmanship; drawing; declamations and compositions.

High School Department.—C Grade—Mathematics.—Practical arithmetic reviewed; algebra, fundamental rules and fractions; geometry begun.

Natural Sciences.—Natural philosophy, through me-

chanics; physiology; botany; chemistry; physical geography and natural history.

Reading outlines of ancient and modern history; parsing; drawing; penmanship; book-keeping; declamations; compositions, and lessons on morals.

B Grade—Mathematics.—Higher arithmetic; algebra, to quadratic equations; geometry continued.

Natural Sciences.—Natural philosophy to optics; physiology; botany; chemistry; physical geography and natural history.

Reading; outlines of ancient and modern history; parsing, rhetoric; drawing; penmanship; book-keeping; declamations; compositions and lessons on morals.

A Grade—Mathematics.—Algebra, Day's, to section xvii.; geometry continued; plane trigonometry and mensuration.

Natural Sciences.—Natural philosophy; astronomy; physiology; chemistry; geology and natural history.

Reading.—History; parsing; rhetoric; drawing; penmanship; book-keeping; declamations; compositions and moral lessons.

I believe the system of teaching and the method of classification varies not only in the different States, but in the States themselves; the schools in the different parts of the country have not only different methods of teaching, but the efficiency of their teaching, or otherwise, depends greatly on the special qualifications of the trustees and superintendents for their duties. Indeed schools in sequestered localities, unless under the management of trustees who take a deep and active interest in them, are little better than no schools at all.

The school system of the United States has been so often cried up to the disparagement of the old country (neglectful

enough, heaven knows!) that I shall not scruple to borrow a few plain facts from the report of Mr. Morrow, superintendent for Wantage. I presume Wantage to be a rural district, but if the place be green, the gentleman who presides over its classic groves certainly does not belong to the verdant family.

"During the past year," he says, "1,209 children have been taught in our schools. . . . Most of the schools have been open ten months during the year, and none less than six. I have received about 3,000 dollars, and the most of this sum has been expended in hiring teachers, a small portion being used to pay for fuel, repairs, &c. Although this may seem to be in opposition to the spirit of the law, which provides that all moneys 'coming into the hands of the town superintendent shall be applied exclusively to the purposes of education,' yet it seemed to be a kind of a necessary evil, and one that cannot easily be remedied. In the absence of any law to compel the people of any district to raise money for the purchase of fuel, for repairs, &c. nothing is raised, and the appearance of our school-houses suggests that they need money for fuel, money for repairs, money for building, and, in fact, money for everything connected with them. Of the twenty-two buildings in which the schools of our township are taught, there are eight that, upon the whole, answer quite well. But what can be said of the other fourteen? As for five or six of them, no respectable farmer would give more than two shillings and sixpence a piece to winter his stock in. They might do very well for summer pigsties, were it not for the holes in the siding (they have no inside lining), or broken windows through which the pigs, as often do the boys, might effect an escape from so uninviting a habitation."

After much more on the desolation of the school-buildings in his district, the want of playgrounds, and even of decent school furniture, and the frequency with which the miserable weather-boarding of the ramshackle buildings is used for kindling fires, the superintendent comes to the essential question of books. He gives a beggarly account of those in use, and then continues:—"Now you say that by law the selecting of school-books is vested in the town superintendent and the district trustees, and why don't you get better ones? Simply because the parents can't afford to buy them. 'Strange affair,' says one, 'if my young ones can't larn out of the same books their fathers did, what is the use of paying out so much for new books when the old ones will do just as well, and tobaccer has ris up to four cents a small paper, and not half filled at that, and gin is ten cents a drink?' And you can't get them to raise money for school-books, repairs, &c., 'any more than you can raise the dead with a tin dinner-horn.'" He adds—and the oddity of the report itself as a public document will not have escaped my reader's attention—"When we consider the state of the school-houses, their furniture and apparatus, the books used, the price paid for teachers, which averages about 175 dollars per year for males, and 100 dollars for females, board included, together with the interest of patrons, made manifest by their contemptible meanness and stinginess in all educational matters; with what kind of conscience can you discuss the qualifications of teachers? Who ever heard of a first-rate teacher remaining very long in Wantage township? Who ever knew a graduate of the Normal School within its borders? The fact is, as soon as a person gets a little experience in the art, he migrates to more

genial climes, where his labours may be somewhat appreciated, leaving behind those who are fit only for these dark corners of the earth. But as long as they will work for comparatively nothing, so long they will be hired, everybody going on the general principle, that a poor school is better than none. They are hired and generally teach half a term before I have any knowledge of the proceeding, and then I am called upon to examine them, without the co-operation of trustees or any other person. If I refuse, the whole township is down on me, and at the next annual town meeting my term of office is completed, and my successor appointed, who will license, *ad libitum*, every one that has nothing else to do, and desires to engage in the laudable work of 'teaching the young idea how to shoot.' By rubbing up some of these dead heads, dismissing others, and encouraging a few live ones, I find that notwithstanding all the obstacles some good can be accomplished. If our law could be so amended to make it a penal offence for any person to *think* of teaching until he has procured a licence, there might be some hope of changing the status of educational matters."

The fact is, the people in the country districts seem to consider that the money of the fund should relieve them of all further responsibility in the matter; it is therefore a natural consequence that poor school accommodation and inefficient teachers should be the rule. In the larger towns, where the educational system has fairer play, it must be admitted that it has effected more real good than can be described; it is also gradually enlisting the interest of the community in the sequestered parts of the States. Not only are these free schools, when established under favourable circumstances, the means of keeping great numbers of

juveniles from becoming moral castaways, but they are constantly preparing the youth of the country to play their various parts on the stage of life in a manner becoming the sons and daughters of a free and civilized country. I believe the methods used both in the primary and upper grades are both simple and effective. The course of education through which a young man requires to pass in one of the high schools is quite sufficient to enable him, either as a tradesman or a merchant, to act his part in the great drama of life—always providing he has the natural aptitude to make a proper use of his learning.

The best of these schools are not exempt from failure of another kind. There are teachers in this country as there are in Great Britain who mistake cramming for education; boys and girls with good memories can easily be made into pet parrots to grace their schools, obtain credit for their teachers, amuse the school visitors, spoil the pupils, and flatter their fathers and mothers. Mr. Ricord, the State superintendent of New Jersey, observes in one of his annual reports:—

"When I say that the programme of exercises should be rigidly observed, I lay it down as a rule to which there should be no exceptions; and I have now particularly in mind the very common practice on the part of teachers of what is vulgarly called 'showing off before folks:' that is to say, the practice of making the best display possible when visitors happen to be in the school-room. It is not an uncommon thing, on such occasions, to send the a-b-c-darians to the rear, or to tell the arithmeticians, if they happen to be in the front ranks (especially if the teacher be not mathematically inclined) to 'right about face' and retreat; and instead of A, B, C, or arithmetic, which is, perhaps, the proper business

of the moment, the teacher calls out—'Now, children, we'll have a little singing—Attention! Begin! "Oh come, come away, the school bell now is ringing."' And then the whole school jingle away for half an hour through a succession of songs which are, to be sure, well enough in their place, but which give no idea of what the pupils are learning, or of what the teacher's qualifications are worth, except to a person who comprehends this kind of charlatanry.

"In some schools there is frequently a class in spelling, or a class in reading, or a class in geography, that the teacher keeps, after the fashion of a good housewife, expressly for company; and, like the very best preserves, they never become sour, but when wanted, turn out as fresh and fine as could be desired. These are called the '*crack classes*.' As soon as the town superintendent, or the trustees, or any distinguished visitors, enter the school-room, the boys and girls belonging to these classes know precisely what will be the next business in order; and, sure enough, to use a vulgar expression, they are 'trotted out.'

"While visiting, one day, a prominent public school in one of our large towns, I passed successively from one department to another, till I reached the room of the principal female assistant, whom I found engaged in 'hearing a grammar lesson.' On being introduced by my companion, I was invited, with a grand flourish, to a seat on the platform. I begged the teacher not to suffer my visit to interfere with her duties, but in spite of my remonstrances, the grammarians were hustled off to their respective desks, and I was most pressingly invited to address the school, three-quarters of the pupils being, at the time, occupied in the adjoining class-

rooms. I objected to a proceeding so subversive of good order, and so likely to disturb the programme for the day, and insisted upon her going on with the exercises as if I were not present. Perceiving that I was determined to know something about her mode of instruction, she asked me if I would like to listen to a recitation in natural philosophy. I signified my willingness, provided this was the next business in order. The class was called out, and the recitation was performed with a clock-work sort of accuracy, which did not fail to convince me that this was an exercise kept expressly for ornamental purposes. Such things are by no means uncommon.

"Here is a teacher of a different order:—On another occasion, while riding through a well-settled and beautiful country district, I stopped my horse in front of a neat and newly-built school-house, prompted by a desire to see if matters within corresponded with appearances without. Opening the door, I was greeted with a smile of recognition by the teacher, a lady whom I remembered to have seen a few weeks previous at the county institute. Politely offering me a seat, she begged I would excuse her for a few moments, while she proceeded with an arithmetic lesson then in progress. Nothing could have gratified me more, and I sat down to observe attentively all around me. The lesson was taken up at the precise point at which it had been interrupted by my entrance. But this was not the only exhibition of her determination to perform her duty unmolested. A small urchin, seated at the end of one of the forms, commenced the old-fashioned recreation of snapping flies with a bit of whalebone. The amusement did not, to be sure, occasion much disturbance, but it was a breach of decorum, to say nothing of the feelings

of the flies. The teacher, who was at the moment standing in the middle aisle making some explanations to the class, moved slowly towards the young Nero, and without changing her voice, or ceasing to speak, raised him gently by the aid of one of his ears, and, still continuing her explanations to the class, slowly marched him to the other end of the room, opened a closet, thrust him in, buttoned the door, and returned as if nothing had happened, and, what was most remarkable, and to me most comical, she did not, from the beginning to the end of the operation, discontinue, for a single moment, the explanations which she had commenced a moment previous, nor show the slightest mark of annoyance or discomposure. This lady was a model teacher; she possessed the power of self-government, and therefore the more qualified to govern others.

"In the school to which I first alluded, a class in natural philosophy was called out, as I stated, evidently for display. The text-book in use was on the question and answer plan, a copy of it being placed in my hand while the teacher examined the class from another. They rattled through two or three pages in as many minutes, without the slightest hesitation, and doubtless thought that I looked upon them as marvels of learning. At the end of ten or fifteen minutes, during which the teacher had not asked them a single question that was not to be found in the book, she turned to me and said: 'You may examine them, sir, on any of the first seventy-five pages, which is all that they have been over.' I closed the book, and, having congratulated them upon the readiness with which they had answered, expressed the hope that they understood what they had so perfectly committed to memory. 'This is an intensely interesting study,' I con-

tinued, 'and these principles with which you seem to be so familiar, enable you to account for facts and occurrences which fall daily under our observations. You know, for instance, that the earth is turning rapidly on its axis, and if you understand the words that you have just been repeating, you can tell why this house and everything on the earth's surface is not whirled off into space. Now let some one of you give me an explanation of this.' I paused for a reply.

"No one volunteered an answer, though I waited very patiently, while the teacher stood smiling very complacently, and nodding encouragingly to this and that member of the class, not one of whom was less than fifteen years of age.

"'Perhaps,' I said, 'you do not understand the question; I will give it to you in another form: Can you tell me why it is that water will not run up hill?'

"Here some of them smiled, and all looked somewhat foolish, while the teacher redoubled her complacency and her nods. Still no answer came. 'Well,' said I, at last, 'may be, you do not understand me yet; can you tell me why it is that water runs down hill?'

"Silence still prevailed, and I began to regret that I had not kept to the book, for the young ladies, as well as their instructress, were evidently getting ready to denounce me as an impertinent fellow. Finally, the teacher, turning towards me, said: 'We have not a very good book on natural philosophy. It does not speak of these and a good many other things which I have seen explained in other works. I mean to ask the trustees to furnish us with another as soon as possible.'

"Are there any words in the English language in which

she could have more satisfactorily admitted her ignorance than she did by this speech. And just think of it; here were a dozen girls from fifteen to eighteen years of age, who had just repeated, without a mistake, two or three pages on the subject of gravitation, and yet who could not tell why water ran down hill instead of up hill. Incredible as this may seem, I will venture to say that exhibitions quite as ridiculous may be witnessed in any school where the teacher confines himself and his pupils entirely to a text-book during the recitation."

I am inclined to think that the lay system of school-teaching in the United States is much to be preferred to a plan under the control of the clergy. If left to the management of the numerous religious sects, there would be a continued struggle between one dogma and another for the pre-eminence. Sectarian jealousy, like a hideous monster, has stood in the way of a general system of education in England during the last twenty years. The National Church party want to have the power of training the minds of the youths of the country, the Methodists demand that their creed shall be taught, and so it is with all the smaller sects.

To provide a supply of suitable teachers, normal or training-schools have been established, yet competent teachers are not easily obtained for country-schools in out-of-the-way places. This arises, no doubt, from the small remuneration awarded to teachers in the unincorporated schools. Looking over the State superintendent's report for 1863, I find that the average salary of the male teachers in the counties only amounts to the small sum of 380 dollars a year, and that of the females to 233 dollars.

On referring to the superintendent's report for the city of Newark, I find that the head-master of the high school

receives 1,250 dollars a year, and that this sum with that which the under-masters and assistants receive amounts to 5,736 dollars. In this town with a population of 80,000 there are 12 ward schools, 3 industrial schools, 3 evening schools for males, 1 for females, 1 Saturday normal school and 1 school for children of colour. The total expense for supporting these schools during 1863 was 67,927 dollars; the town share of the State appropriation fund being 8,036 dollars. I believe there are very few towns in which the free-school system has not been improved by bequests, legacies, or donations from private individuals.

The money paid by the trustees of the State appropriation fund in 1863 for the support of free schools in New Jersey was 80,000 dollars; this sum was raised by taxation and other means to 630,490 dollars.

I observed from a report submitted to the members of the board of education by the committee on studies, that the probable expense for the State of New York during the year 1865 will be 1,848,508 dollars; 1,100,000 of this sum will be required for teachers' salaries in ward and primary schools. I have not learned how much money is required to be raised by taxation in New York, but should suppose from the fact of so many commercial men having made princely fortunes there, that many bequests and legacies must have been left for educational purposes.

Much of both the efficiency and general good management of the country-schools depends upon the town superintendents. Where these officers are men of social status, gentlemanly deportment, and good moral character, and take a lively interest in both teachers and pupils, the schools under such management are sure to succeed well. Generally

speaking, the town superintendents are men in respectable social positions; many are medical practitioners, some are lawyers, a good many are men of independent means whose time is at their own disposal. There are two circumstances which materially affect the usefulness and general efficiency of superintendents; in the first place, they are elected annually, and in the second, their election depends more upon their political creeds than upon the qualifications necessary for such important situations. Political feeling, like the deadly liana of the South American forests, twines itself round the whole social system of the American people. When a change of party is effected, a clean sweep is made in all official situations; the honest and efficient discharge of the duties of office is no safeguard when the factions have changed positions. One would rationally suppose that the office of a superintendent of schools would be free from all political contingencies. But this will never be, so long as the system of political *clawing* remains intact.

The free-school system in the United States will be the means in the course of a few years of solving one of the greatest social problems of modern times; that is to say, whether the general education of a people will be a national blessing or a national curse. The following statements are from the annual report of the State superintendent of New Jersey for 1861. The report is addressed to the Senate and General Assembly:—"It is a fact which cannot be concealed, and which I have shown to be eminently worthy of your attention, in this connection, and at a crisis like the present, that in nine of the most prominent States that have seceded from the Union, there is one person in about every thirteen of the native white population over twenty years of

age who is unable to read and write, making an aggregate of ignorant native whites greater than one-half of the entire population of New Jersey. At the same time, in nine of the loyal States having a native white population more than double that of the nine seceding States alluded to, there is but one person of the above description in about every 208 who cannot read and write. In some of the disloyal States there is no system of public instruction; in others it is very defective. Virginia, with a population of more than a million and a half, has but 56,743 children in her common schools, and expends for education but about 160,000 dollars per annum; South Carolina, with over 715,000 population, has but 16,840 children in her common schools, and affords but 70,000 dollars for popular education; Georgia, with over a million of inhabitants, gives schooling to only about 67,000 of her children; Alabama, with a population of nearly a million, has common-school accommodations for about 80,000, and expended during the two years 1859 and 1860, 271,580 dollars for education; while New Jersey, with a population of only 675,812, had, during the year just closed, 137,578 children in her public schools, and expended, during that year, for public instruction 549,123 dollars 57 cents—a number of children in her schools nearly equal to that in all the public schools of Georgia, South Carolina, and Virginia, and a sum of money spent for education during this year of general calamity greater than that spent for a similar purpose during the year 1860 by the three States just named, together with Alabama. Still, New Jersey has not come up to the standard of other States, though she is steadily advancing, and in some respects compares favourably with those who take the lead."

Until the comparative state of crime is known in the above States, little can be said about the superior morality of the population which has the best opportunities for obtaining education. I do not know whether the people in the Northern States are better conducted and more honest in their dealings with each other than those in the slave States. What little I do know about social matters in the Southern States, has been obtained from men who have either travelled in the country, or resided there as artisans, and I have not met one who has not spoken highly of the kind and hospitable character of the people, and I may observe that, with only two or three exceptions, my informants were Americans.

There is one circumstance connected with the free-school system which is a serious drawback on its efficiency in a moral point of view. I allude to the necessity there is of associating the children of parents of different social grades in the same classes. Under the idea of social equality entertained by the most worthless members of society, I do not see how this grouping of mixed grades can be avoided. It must be plain, however, that the children of well-conditioned fathers and mothers are more likely to be contaminated by coming in contact with vitiated schoolmates, than the rude and ill-conducted are to be improved. Look at this matter which way we will, it is one of serious import to fathers and mothers who care for the moral training of their children. I have frequently heard little boys and girls make use of language which would have been disgusting in the mouths of ignorant grown-up people. The children of rude and vulgar fathers and mothers are engrafted with vice at the domestic hearth, and they freely scatter the fruits of their home education among their playmates after school-hours. I know

that this feature in the free-school system prevents numbers of right-thinking men from sending their children to an institution where they are obliged to mingle with the youthful offspring of the most worthless members of society.

In the female teaching department one very objectionable practice is but too common in the public schools; I refer to the appointment of young women, or rather, girls, as teachers, who in many instances serve for ornament, perhaps, but are of little use, as few, if any of them, possess any moral influence over the children committed to their care. It is not therefore to be wondered at, that such scholars should grow up in a careless self-willed manner. I know from experience that it is a very difficult matter for fathers and mothers to counteract the baneful influence engendered by evil companionship in some of the free-schools, more particularly in such as are under the management of young girls. The remarks I am about to quote have been called forth by the highly immoral conduct of some of the female teachers in New York, in their relation to certain of the trustees in the first place, and in the second by certain trustees making it a condition, with both the male and female teachers appointed to schools under their charge, to pay them so much a head for their situations. The conduct of these parties not only brought scandal upon the schools with which they were connected, but prevented many people from sending their children to public schools. This evil is alluded to in the following paragraph from one of the New York papers :—

" The experience of the past twelve months has been anything but flattering to the decision of our voters on the subject. Since the last election there have been developments connected with our public-school system, or, rather,

concerning some of its *attachés*, which have been shocking to the moral sense of the community, and aroused an irrepressible feeling of indignation against the perpetrators. These instances of immorality arose from the loose and dangerous mode of nominating school trustees at ward or district meetings. It is well for the bone and sinew to be well represented on the school ticket—for there are many cases where honest merit in shirt sleeves is of more benefit to juvenile education than intellectual indolence in ruffled shirts. But all classes should have a fair representation. Our public-school system is no political machine, that may be run by Tom, Dick, or Harry, without regard to future consequences; but it is an institution of this free land, which prospers and is of benefit according to the amount of integrity and intelligence infused into it. In order to secure this end, and to purge the system of the corruptions that have been allowed to creep into it, every man who has children to educate should see that good men are selected for school commissioners and trustees; for upon them rests the responsibility of the appointment of teachers, who, in every case, should be selected for their moral worth, as well as for their abilities to mould and expand the youthful mind. Many citizens have withdrawn their children from the public schools in consequence of the bad character which attaches to some of the teachers; but there are others who are obliged to send their offspring to the public schools or see them grow up in ignorance in the public streets, perfect in nothing but gutter knowledge. This condition of things should not and need not be allowed. It can be readily remedied if our citizens abjure politics in every shape in selecting their candidates for school officers. Let them nominate their best men, and let the 'best men win.'"

Before dismissing the free-school system, I do not think it will be out of place to remark that several of the school-books which have come under my own notice were vitiated by numbers of one-sided articles, the animus of which was decidedly anti-English. For instance, many of our worst kings and nobles are exhibited in the darkest phases of their characters, and held up as types of their class. It is true we have had some sovereigns who were both a disgrace to their country and order; but we have many sets-off against these men in others whose conduct reflected honour upon both their country and high positions. The life and conduct of our present sovereign will fill a bright page in British history—in which her love for her people, her domestic virtues, amiable manners, and unostentatious deportment will stand out in bold relief. If the American instructors of youth, in their desire to furnish useful historical lessons, had used the same freedom with Bible history as they have done with that of Great Britain, I think they would have found very few kings whose lives could be held up as examples for young America to follow. I do not think that any of the British kings (even in the age of divine right) ever exhibited lower phases of human weakness than those to be found in the character of David. Henry VIII. and George IV. were among the worst specimens of our grossly sensual kings, but, bad as they were, neither of them surpassed Solomon in the vice of self-indulgence. Nor is it only in the class-books that this hatred of England manifests itself.

A short time ago a female friend of my own was invited to attend a free-school class exhibition of young misses, in New York. The part of the performance in which they were best posted, and on which the lady-teacher evidently founded her claims to be considered a painstaking instructor, was a vulgar

dialogue, in which England, on the one hand, was represented by a rude, ignorant specimen of the Bull family, while on the other an intelligent daughter of the Stars and Stripes treated the English people as an inferior race, and burlesqued both themselves and their institutions. It was, no doubt, pleasant to both the teacher and the visitors to witness a performance in which America overshadowed Great Britain with the greatness of her civilization. Lessons in which either private or public scandal is detailed are easily learned, but a school for improving the minds of youth, enlarging their views of both men and things, and correcting the weak or unruly parts of their nature, seems to me to be the last place in which either family feuds or national jealousies should be kept alive. Those lessons, which enlist the feelings of young people, are soon learned, but it becomes a serious matter when, in mature years, they find it necessary to unlearn what their teachers in early life fastened upon their memories. America is certainly a great country, but her people should not forget that the greatness of the United States, in all that appertains to art, science, and civil polity has been built up by the fugitive genius of Europeans.

These little matters are certainly calculated to leave an unfavourable impression on the minds of strangers; they are, however, merely isolated spots on a healthy body. The school system, as a whole, is highly praiseworthy, and cannot fail to reflect honour upon the country; in my opinion, as a great national good, if at all properly conducted, it is only second to the Constitution itself. It may be a question in the minds of some men, whether a general education of the people is not calculated to unsuit them for plying their industry in the ordinary walks of life. If, however, the free-school education

can be made to humanize the feelings of the rising generation, as well as expand the mind with useful knowledge, the beneficial influence of the system will be seen in the conduct of the fathers and mothers of the next generation. Up to this period of the existence of the system, I am afraid that the moral training of the scholars has not had that attention which the great importance of the subject demands; it avails a man very little to be crammed with the lore of the schools unless he has learned the art of self-government, and how to conduct himself in his daily intercourse with his fellow-men.

CHAPTER IX.

BUSINESS.

Humble Origin of many of the Merchant Princes of America—Generosity of New York Merchants—Eagerness to accumulate Wealth—Changed Conditions of Manufacture and Trade—Details of a Trunk-manufacturing Business—Sketch of the Hat Trade, including the Author's Experience as a Workman in this Branch of Business—Relation between Workmen and their Employers—Vulgarity, Ignorance, and Conceit of Workmen from Great Britain—Loose System of Apprenticeship—America a Field for Unskilled Labour rather than for Artisans.

THERE are not many countries in which society may be said to be settled down to the industrial pursuits in which so many men catch the tide of fortune, and are swept onward by its stream to the havens of their ambition, as in the United States. In the town where I was located while penning my notes for this chapter, large numbers of both the leading merchants and manufacturers are transformed working-men, who, by their own talents and industry, coupled with favourable circumstances of time and place, have attained to high social positions. I know numbers of men by repute who have acquired princely fortunes after having commenced their race in life under anything but what the generality of men would call favourable circumstances. Two leading merchants in New York have been pointed out to me who commenced the battle of life with no other arms but

those which Nature gave them. I should judge from their names that they are of Scotch descent, though they emigrated from the north of Ireland, and I have no doubt that the faculty which induces a North Briton to think twice before he speaks or acts once, has contributed in no small degree to their success.

Both these men stand out in relief among the commercial grandees of the city of New York, and I have reason to believe that they are both highly respected for their gentlemanly conduct as citizens, and their uniform probity in business. One is engaged in the sugar-refining and confectionery business, holding in the latter branch of his trade much the same position in America as the Messrs. Wotherspoon, of Glasgow, in Great Britain. The other gentleman, like Shoolbred, of Tottenham Court Road in London, as a commercial man is at the head of his profession in New York, which is saying a good deal. As a proof of the very great amount of business transacted in his establishment in Broadway, he paid an income-tax upon the profits arising from the sale of goods in 1864, which amounted to 1,000,870 dollars. I may allude to yet another of these merchant princes who, like the two former, is a North of Ireland man with a Scotch name. He is in the dry-goods' line, and carries on his business in the city of Brotherly Love. I have heard from the most reliable source that he appropriates 50,000 dollars a year to charitable purposes. Since the commencement of the Civil War he has been chairman of the Christian Commission, in which capacity he has not only spent a great portion of his time, but he has both contributed largely to the funds of the institution and lent the services of his clerks and others of his employés to the management of its affairs. I

know one circumstance which is not only honourable to him for the kindliness of his disposition, but reflects no small credit upon his discrimination as a judge of human character. Between four and five years ago a young man was residing in Philadelphia who had emigrated from Glasgow a few years before. This person was a good tradesman in his own business, but having been let loose from the watchful care of his relations before his judgment had time to be matured by experience, he was not long in America before he boxed the compass of dissipation. Like many young men who allow themselves to be carried down the stream of what they erroneously consider pleasure, he found himself drifting in a career of worse than thoughtless gaiety, and that, too, without any settled purpose of amendment in the future. By some providential circumstance, Mr. Stewart got hold of this youth; he saw after a short acquaintance that he possessed talents which, if properly directed, might be made useful both to himself and the community among whom he resided; and that young man is now one of the best practical sermonizers in the United States; and, with the exception of Mr. Stewart himself, has been the means of raising more money for the Christian Commission than all the other agents whose services have been called into requisition by the society. Mr. Stewart judged rightly of this gentleman's mental capabilities when he aided in giving him his right position in the community. There are few public speakers in America who could have so worked upon the sympathies of the members of Congress, with the President at their head, as he did on the floor of the house in the spring of 1864, when addressing them upon the nature and objects of the commission. I believe it is a fact that the Scotch clergymen who

are located in the United States are among the best sermonizers in the country, and that unlike many of the natives they confine themselves to the legitimate objects of the pulpit.

It may readily be expected in a country where public opinion recognizes successful dishonesty as a thing of merit, that numbers of men of the "Make a spoon or spoil a horn" family, are continually endeavouring to mount the ladder of prosperity. Commercial pursuits, when followed by certain classes of men, are not ill-calculated to sharpen the wits and at the same time blunt the moral feelings; there can be little doubt but that much of the business carried on by this sort of people may be more fairly styled gambling than honest trading. That condition of society in which men's wants are suddenly increased is sure to be inimical both to private virtue and public morality. One of the most serious evils of the times both in Great Britain and the United States, is the continual effort which is being made by men in business to accumulate wealth by any near cut discoverable by cunning or ingenuity. In England this vice has been developing its influence over the minds and actions of great numbers of commercial men, but whether people of this class are successful or otherwise, public opinion is almost certain to brand them with its disapprobation. Herein lies the difference of that sense of right and wrong which characterizes the people of the two countries. Still it is but just to add that although the United States present a fair field for commercial men of easy virtue, in which they can operate without the fear of public opinion affecting their social position, the country has much reason to be proud of her army of honest traders whose business transactions extend

over the world, and to whose successful operations American nationality is so deeply indebted.

Nearly the whole of the manufacturing branches of business carried on in the United States have been introduced by mechanics and artisans from the United Kingdom; yet there are few trades which have not been materially changed either in the character of the articles when produced, or in the manner of producing them. It would seem that both the taste and requirements of the people are different from those in the old country. There is no doubt an adaptability in these matters, as there is in nearly all the other social arrangements of the people. One thing may be mentioned in connection with the manufacturing industry of the country: division of labour is carried out in all the various branches of skilled labour to the fullest possible extent; this system not only facilitates production, but it conduces to perfection in the workmen; machinery, too, is used for every purpose to which it can be applied.

While in the city of Newark, in New Jersey, I had an opportunity of going through the works of not only the largest travelling trunk, valise, and carpet-bag manufacturer in the United States, but in the world! The gentleman at the head of this establishment is a Scotchman from Glasgow, who, like many of his enterprising countrymen in America, has taken the lead in his own business. Mr. Peddie employs somewhere about five hundred people, male and female, on the premises; how many may be otherwise engaged I did not inquire; but when it is known that so many willing pairs of hands are supplemented by steam power, it may reasonably be conceived that an immense quantity of goods is continually being turned out. The various travelling appliances made in this establishment

are sent over the whole of the States. I was informed, however, that the West Indies form one of Mr. Peddie's principal markets; large quantities are also shipped to Mexico and the different ports in South America.

The travelling cases which seem to be most in requisition are made of wood, and covered either with leather or waterproof paper; the sizes vary from one foot to three feet in length; and as they are made of many different qualities, they are sold at nearly all prices, from one to fifteen dollars. All these trunks have rounded lids, and to save tear and wear by being drawn over the ground, they are fitted with castors; these appliances not only save the bottoms of the cases from being injured by moving, but they allow them to be easily shifted from one position to another without being injured. The insides are very neatly decorated; the lid itself is formed so as to hold a good part of a gentleman's wardrobe; when lifted up it is stayed so as to stand erect, and, having a lid which fits it in the inside, it presents a plain surface. This interior lid is prettily ornamented with a French coloured lithograph, representing landscape scenery and groups of figures; the rest of the space round the central design is covered with fancy paper, either watered or embossed, and the whole is ornamented with a scroll border. The trunk itself has also an inside lid with a plain surface. Like the above it is ornamented, but instead of paper being used it is covered with embossed leather in some decided colour or colours, and formed into a variety of designs in keeping with the taste of the artist. The outsides of the cases, in order to please the eye, are ornamented with a variety of designs by the process of embossing; this part of the work is done by machinery and the use of hot plates. The mountings, such

as the locks, handles, clasps, and name plates, are also in fancy-work; often they are electroplated with silver; but these, of course, are only used for the cases of superior make. A great deal of the decorative work on these trunks would be looked upon as barbarous finery in England, where more attention is paid to utility than to ornament. The different habits of the people account for their difference in taste in these matters, as may be seen by the following:—The American travelling trunk answers a two-fold purpose. When a lady leaves her home to visit any of the places of fashionable resort, she may take as many as six or eight travelling trunks in her train. An Englishwoman going upon a similar journey would be content with half-a-dozen of dresses at the most, whereas an American lady, if a worshipper at the shrine of fashion (and what American lady is not?) must have a dress for every day she deigns to show her draped charms. In fitting up her rooms in the hotel at which she stays, with her genius for ostentatious display, she turns her pretty travelling trunks into as many bureaus; in the character of furniture they are therefore both useful and ornamental. Many of the trunks manufactured at the establishment I have mentioned, are made of sole leather; but even these are fitted up much in the same style as those already described. The price of the leather trunks ranges from sixteen dollars (wholesale) to forty dollars. The division of labour in this manufactory is carried out to its furthest limits from the process of sawing the wood to packing the cases for sale.

Portmanteaus, and the old-fashioned carpet-bags which are so common among the go-from-home people in England, are rarely if ever seen in America, except in the possession of Old World fugitives, and to the Yankees are unmistakable

signs of their owners being greenhorns. To men who know the business practically, it will be obvious that there is a good deal of difference between the trade in the United States and Great Britain so far as manipulation is in question; indeed the same, if not a greater, difference will be found in almost every branch of manufacturing industry in the country.

Mr. Peddie's father was a respectable manufacturer in the portmanteau business in Glasgow; and had he been yet in life, I have no doubt but he would have been proud of his son's success in his new field of labour. Like nearly all successful men of business, this gentleman has been the creator of his own fortune. The position he has attained is that of the largest trunk manufacturer in the United States or elsewhere; but he is also a member of the legislature in the State in which he resides. I may mention that the city of Newark is not only the principal place where the trunk and travelling-bag trade is carried on in the States, but it is also the seat of no small amount of the manufacturing industry of the country.

In alluding to G. H. Stewart of Philadelphia, I omitted to mention that there are five brothers of this family who have all attained to high social positions; two of these gentlemen are bankers in New York, one of them is a banker at Manchester in England, and the fifth is a merchant in Liverpool. The gentlemen's names I have thus introduced are merely given as examples of honest, enterprising commercial men, who, like thousands of others from the old country, have caught the flood-tide of fortune, and have been borne along the current to havens of independence. I do not think there is any other country where so much money can be raised by voluntary subscription, for any purpose of either

private or public utility, as can be collected among the commercial men of America. It is no unusual thing for one of these merchant-princes to give an order for fifteen or twenty thousand dollars. I know one instance where a gentleman in New York gave forty thousand dollars towards building a church for a young clergyman to whom he took a liking.

For the benefit of those of my countrymen who are engaged in the hat manufacturing business, I will endeavour to lay before them such information as may be of interest, but more particularly to those among them who may think of emigrating. In 1852, when Kossuth, the Hungarian exile, visited the United States, he wore a stuff felt hat, without any other stiffening than a little in the brim; that very unassuming chapeau was the means of revolutionizing the whole trade of the country by producing an entire change in both the form and character of the hat. Since that period, soft felt hats have held both the market and the heads of all the lords of creation in the country, with very few exceptions. During the change of styles, the demand for soft hats was very considerable, and as the process of *bowing*, or forming the bodies by hand, was found too slow for the fast men, some ingenious member of the trade made a forming machine, by which means both the bows and hurdles, which had been wedded to the trade beyond the ken of history, were kicked about their business. Like nearly all other new mechanical productions, I presume, the first forming machine was anything but perfect; it was only a short time in operation (though guarded with a miser's care against the inspection of strangers), when several others were introduced into the trade, in which the imperfections of the first were avoided. During

the last seven or eight years few stuff bodies have been formed by the hand except in the far west; machines are now scattered over the whole of the hat-manufacturing districts, namely, Newark in the State of New Jersey; Danbury, Connecticut, Brooklyn, and Philadelphia. The principal seats of the trades are, however, in Newark and Brooklyn, and I fancy I am not far wrong, in stating that, in time of brisk trade, Newark, Orange, and the adjacent villages will contain from 600 to 800 men. Mr. Prentice, in Brooklyn, is the largest manufacturer in the States. This gentleman's method of disposing of his goods is peculiar to himself. Instead of selling his hats to the merchants in the ordinary way of business, he disposes of them by auction, twice a year, on his own premises in New York. In Newark, there are several large employers; among these Messrs. Yates and Wharton, Vail, Jaques and Gillham, Moore and Selia—and the French company; the business of this latter firm may be looked upon as of an exceptional character, being wholly confined to the manufacture of "brush hats." This class of goods is only known to the trade in Great Britain by name. I believe it is of German origin. The method of making these hats is as follows:—The bodies are formed of fine Russian hare's wool, pretty strongly carroted and sized into within about an inch and a half of the size required, when they leave the hands of the brushers. After the bodies are dried they are carded until a thick flowing nap is produced; they are then taken to the plank and brushed in water with a weak solution of vitriolic acid. The brushes are made especially for the purpose; the hair is close and short, and the backs are made to be handled with freedom. Brushing is exceedingly laborious work; every hat must be brushed on the plank,

and during the operation the kettle must be kept boiling. A hat in the hands of an ordinary workman will take an hour's constant labour before the stuff (or as it is called, the stock,) will become ripe; the operator will know when his hat has had sufficient work by the yellow colour of the nap, and the free flowing character which it assumes. After these hats are brushed the first time, they are dried, and the nap cut quite short by a machine; after this they are brushed a second time, blocked, and sent to the colour shop. I may mention that there are few men whose hands can stand blocking brush hats for any great length of time. The most of this work is done by Germans, Frenchmen, and Italians; and those accustomed to it can make from fourteen to twenty dollars a week, according to their readiness at the business. Since the price of hatters' materials has undergone such a great advance in consequence of the war tariff, sizing hats has become a very variable process. Much of the refuse of hat-shops, which heretofore was looked upon as useless rubbish, is now mixed up with new stock and made into hats. The quantity of this worn-out material used in some lots of bodies is so disproportioned to the new stock, that the men have often much difficulty in making their work sound. Generally speaking where the stock is not overlaid, the men can make very fair wages, but a stranger would scarcely credit the very great difference there is both between the character of the work and the prices paid for it in shops, not only in the same district, but within a few doors of each other. Mr. Joseph Gillham, in whose shop I worked, pays on a higher scale than any man in the trade within my knowledge; his goods, however, as a general rule, are of better quality than those made by other houses, and as his

bodies are laid a large size they require much diligence and well-applied labour before they are fit to pass through the hands of the foreman.

When business is in anything like a healthy condition, an ordinary good sizer can make from twelve to fifteen dollars a week. It may be noted that the British workmen who learned their trade when they had to form their own bodies, as a general rule, make a very poor figure in competing with men who have obtained a knowledge of their business in the States. Many of these men will size two hats for one with some of the best English workmen. The old system of operating upon a single hat at the plank has been superseded by the American workmen, who size three, and occasionally four bodies together in a cloth. The whole secret in getting through the work quickly lies in keeping a loose roll until the bodies are nearly into the required size. While some men, who were ordinary fair sizers, laboured over a dozen of bodies in a day, I have seen others, without any apparent effort, do from two to three dozen. I have frequently had occasion to observe a good deal of disparity between workmen at home, but never anything like that which I have witnessed in America.

It will scarcely be credited by the old journeymen in England that some of the fire-eaters among the Yankee hatters have been known to make as much as fifty dollars in one week at certain kinds of work. I know several men within my own sphere of observation who, when in full employment, made from twenty to thirty-five dollars a week. These people, however, belong to the class who labour like horses with the lash continually held over them, and many of them drink like savages. So far as my own experience is in

question, I have rarely ever known one of these extremely fast workmen who could make it convenient to save a cent. As they made their money, they spent it, and in a manner which showed that they were thoroughly regardless of the contingencies of health or continued employment.

If the hat business could be relied upon as a steady source of industry, I daresay it would be one of the best trades in the country. I am sorry to say, however, that there is no manufacturing business of which I have a knowledge so decidedly spasmodic in its character. This is accounted for by the amazing power of production which the "Forming Machine" gives the manufacturers. An order for 1,000 dozen of hats in a district only lasts a short time. In the phraseology of the trade, the "squirtes" quickly gobble up the work. These fast men have such ravenous appetites for labour that they can scarcely spare time to eat their victuals, for fear they should not get their full share. In most of the shops the men get the work out of hand as quickly as they can do it, and the fast men have all the chances of monopolizing more than an equal share of the hats, which is certainly not using the slower class of workmen fairly. In the old country, I have never witnessed anything so disgustingly disagreeable as this selfishness of the American hat-makers. No doubt it arises in part from the unsteady nature of the business, and from their wants being increased by their highly artificial state of existence.

When the business is in a prosperous condition, there is a constant struggle between the men and their employers about prices. I have seen as many as four shop-calls (meetings) in the course of a day upon as many different kinds of work. It may be mentioned that each shop regulates its own prices. It is a rule with the employers, in giving out a new lot of

hats, to leave a margin of from four to ten cents, according to the nature of the stock and weight upon each hat; if the work is accepted by the men at the price on the tickets, nothing is said; but if the work should prove to be underpaid, the shop is called, and a higher rate demanded. In consequence of this state of things, the men and their employers are continually watching each other.

I have observed that the turns-out which have occurred in the trade in the localities in which I have been situated have been caused by a set of headstrong young men, who acted from the mere impulse of feeling; and by far the worst feature in these matters is that men of prudence and experience dare not open their mouths or use their influence at the public meetings, for fear of being blackballed. As a general thing, the men have little regard for the feelings or interests of each other, and respect of persons is a matter quite out of the question. Should any man with a proper sense of right and wrong attempt to defend an employer in a disputed case, he would be sure to be branded as a traitor, as well as being made a butt of ridicule by every fool in the shop who chose to raise a laugh at his expense, or to gratify his own evil disposition.

I have no hesitation in saying that the most vulgar, the most ignorant, self-conceited, and headstrong class of men either in my own trade, or any other, are to be found among those who belong to one or other of the three divisions of the United Kingdom. This probably arises from an endeavour on the part of the new comers to imitate the worst features in the character of the natives, and in attempting this they out-Herod Herod in Yankee swagger and arrogance. The men in America, like the same class in Great Britain, who are the

most loud-mouthed bawlers for trade rights and manly independence, are, with few exceptions, the meanest Jerry Sneaks and subservient tools in the trade when they come to be tested by even a small pressure of want. In seasons of dull trade the employers have matters all their own way, and of course are not slow to ring the changes upon the men. On these occasions the "all or none" gentlemen have no alternative but to accept a half loaf as being better than no bread.

Before the commencement of the war, a man in the trade, with economy and ordinary prudence, if employed even two-thirds of his time, might have saved money, as he could have supported a moderate family with six dollars a week. That time in the United States, like a dream of the past, is gone, and I fear never to return. From the open nature of both the hat trade and many other branches of skilled industry in America, a few years will thoroughly overstock them with hands, the immediate consequence of which will be a corresponding depreciation in the value of labour. In the meantime, from the loose system of apprenticeship which prevails, journeymen are being turned out as if by steam. I think the time is not far distant on this continent when the exclusive system of the European guilds will be introduced into the various branches of skilled industry. As long as trades offer inducements to young men to join them, few will be content to spend their lives in the drudgery of the fields, or in what is looked upon as the meaner occupations of civilized life. The working-classes in America will be more impatient under a severe commercial pressure than any other people, when their Government ceases to spend a thousand millions of dollars annually, as they are doing while I am writing. They will find that four years of feverish prosperity have swelled their

ranks and narrowed the field of their labour at the same time. This will not only be the case; but when the whole trade of the nation is made to collapse like an empty bladder, and the overstocked labour-market supplemented by return volunteers who have escaped death in the field or by disease, the struggle to live in many cases will be one of life and death.

One of the worst features in the hat trade in America for the journeymen, is the constant liability to be moved about from one establishment to another. When an employer finds his business begin to slacken, he immediately discharges a number of his men. This uncertainty prevails throughout the whole trade. It is therefore a matter of indifference where a man removes to; he is never safe from being shuttle-cocked from one place to another. I have known twenty men shopped who were all on the road again in less than a fortnight. No fault can be found with the employers for thus sending the journeymen about their business when it may suit either their taste or convenience, inasmuch as the men are in the habit of playing the same game when their end of the beam is up.

If a journeyman hatter in any part of the United Kingdom can earn from twenty-five to thirty shillings a week, I would certainly advise him to remain where he is, nor do I know any class of tradesmen under the altered circumstances of the country who are likely to better their condition. As I have said before, the only people likely to improve their social condition by removing to the United States, are the strong, healthy, unskilled labourers who now crowd the labour markets at home. How long the country may even suit this class I cannot presume to say.

I think both the hours of meal-time and the distribution of the hours of labour in America are much better arranged

than in any part of the United Kingdom. Working men take their morning meal about six o'clock, commence the labour of the day at seven, dine at twelve, leave off work at six P.M., and have supper about seven. I look upon the early breakfast as not only a useful fortification to the stomach against the baneful cold humid air of winter mornings, but it is calculated in no small degree to prevent that craving for intoxicating liquors which is so common among certain classes of tradesmen in Great Britain, but more especially in the northern division of it. The early breakfast hour is not confined to any class of people in America; all grades of men seem determined to take time by the forelock, and though the people glide through the world in the majesty of leanness, it is by no means either for the want of food or regularity in their meal hours.

When conversing with Mr. Peddie, the trunk manufacturer, concerning the comparative steadiness of his own countrymen and his experience of the people in his own employment, he had no hesitation in giving the Americans the preference for general habits of temperance. And as I have already remarked, my own experience forces me to arrive at the same conclusion. It is a misfortune, however, that men can be drunk in America without the use of intoxicating liquors!

CHAPTER X.

MINERAL WEALTH OF THE COUNTRY.

Vastness of the Mineral Wealth of Pennsylvania—Importance of the Mississippi to the Grain-producing Regions of the North-west—Discovery of Petroleum—Vast Extent of the Oil Regions—Geological Features of the Country in which Oil is struck—Probable Explanations of the Phenomenon—The Gold-bearing Regions of Colorado—Configuration of the Great Mountain Chain between the Mississippi and the Pacific—The Plateau of North America and the "Parks" of Colorado—The Stupendous Future for America opened out by these Resources considered—Connection of these Facts with the late War for the Preservation of the Union.

I BELIEVE there is not another State in the Union which possesses such unbounded wealth as is to be found in the large coal-fields and other mineral material which lie under the soil of Pennsylvania. These coal-fields are the more valuable to their proprietors from the fact of being the only resource of the people on the east of the Alleghany Mountains. The immense fields of coal in the West are of little present value or importance for purposes of trade; but should the Southern States ever become an independent nationality, they would become a source of inexhaustible wealth, as the Western States, whose produce is now to a certain extent landlocked, would certainly ally themselves with the nation having the command of the great inland American highway, the Mississippi. The fact is, if it were not for this river and its

tributaries, much of the great grain-producing region would be little better than a hunting-ground for the native Indians. There are two cities in the West, one in Ohio, Cincinnati—and the other, Chicago, in Illinois—whose leading business furnishes an excellent proof of the productive character of the country. In 1861-2, 1,532,942—no, sir, not bushels of corn—but that number of *pigs* were killed, cured, and prepared for the market.

Certain districts in the upper part of Pennsylvania and the western parts of Virginia have been the means of producing an extraordinary amount of excitement in the minds of a very large number of the American people. A few years ago the speculative portion of society in Great Britain were seized with the railway mania, and thousands were ruined, after which the world went on as usual. The present American excitement is a greasy one. Men have suddenly become petroleum mad. Within a very short period 400 oil companies have been formed in New York and Philadelphia—and a capital of 400,000,000 of dollars has been invested in shares. In these cities everybody is dealing in oil scrip. In the meantime large numbers of men who possess oil-bearing property are being transformed from poor uncultivated rustics into petroleum princes, and, instead of labouring for a bare living, they are rolling in wealth and bathing in the sunshine of fortune.

The oil regions are said to extend from the southern portion of the Ohio River to the Georgian Bay on Lake Huron in Upper Canada, and from the Alleghanies in Pennsylvania to the western limits of the bituminous coal-fields on the Missouri River. The probable extent (superficial) of this region is estimated at 50,000 square miles. Large numbers

of wells have been sunk in the oil-bearing districts, some of which are yielding immense quantities. The ground is being bored over a large tract of country which heretofore was more ornamental than useful. The oil is rapidly putting a new face upon a considerable portion of society which heretofore lived far beyond the pale of genteel life, and many men are being changed from rude specimens of backwoods humanity into the members of a new aristocracy, before whom the greedy parasites of fashionable society bow their pliant knees. Many of these oleaginous favourites of fortune are now gracing the aristocratic halls of New York, and are being drilled into the manners and habits of artificial life. The blunt honesty of some, and the vulgar impudence of others of their number, will no doubt combine to change the aspects of the society in which they move.

The following description of the origin and character of rock oil may be of interest to the reader, who will probably care very little about its originality in these pages so long as it is new to him, and of guaranteed authenticity :— "It seems certain that the principal supplies of petroleum are not diffused between the planes of stratification, but are collected in cavities more or less sunken in the strata, whence it is less liable to be carried away by running water. It is common to find large quantities in places where there are marks of disturbance and misplacement of the rocks, and those who have professionally 'prospected' for oil nearly always select such spots for sinking shafts or wells. These cavities are not usually of great horizontal extent. It is seldom that two neighbouring wells strike oil at the same depth, whether the strata be horizontal or dipping. It is one chance out of many to strike oil at all, even in neigh-

bourhoods where it exists in abundance—except in certain localities in the Oil Creek region, where the average chances of striking oil are superior to those of other districts, with the exception, possibly, of some of the newly discovered districts in Western Virginia. But there are facts connected with oil wells, particularly their intermittent action and their interference with one another, which serve to show the existence in many cases of systems of these cavities connected together by channels of communication, more or less free, running sometimes along the strata and sometimes acros them. On Oil Creek the greatest quantities of oil are found in the same horizontal stratum of sandstones. It would seem that this rock is very porous, and perforated like a honeycomb with numerous cells and fissures containing petroleum. The history of many of the wells is as follows :—

"When oil is entered the gas begins to raise it up over the top of the boring, increasing gradually in force until it projects it into the air, often from a height of from forty to fifty feet, then alternately diminishing and increasing in force at regular intervals, but without any cessation in the flow for a long time. These variations in the force of the gas —the 'breathing of the earth,' as they are termed—are to be explained on the principle of supposing that, as the tension of the gas is relaxed by the removal of the oil, the gas and oil from other cavities around rush in through the pores and slight fissures till a certain maximum tension is reached, and the influx ceases ; then, by the expansion of the gas already in the chamber, the oil continues to come up, but with a diminishing flow, until a relative vacuum is again created ; after which the influx is renewed and gradually increases, as

at the beginning. These regular alternations vary in different wells from two to three times a day to as many times an hour; the intervals, however, gradually increasing in length as the supply of oil is diminished, unless, as sometimes happens, new communications are forced, and the wells deriving new supplies, start off again with a new period. It is no uncommon thing for intermittent wells to throw out at first 300 or 400 barrels a-day, or to yield in all as much as 20,000 barrels. The activity of some wells is increased by rains: others, with less gas, are rendered unproductive until the water can be reduced. There is no reason to suppose, according to the theory of Professor Evans, of Marietta College, that this oil is raised to the surface by the direct pressure of a stream of water whose head is higher than the issue, as the jets of Artesian wells are said to be produced. In spouting wells the presence of gas, as the immediate agent, becomes known not only from their variable action, but also from the actual escape of gas, and consequent cessation of flow wherever the oil is reduced to a certain level. If collections of oil had direct and free connection with strong currents of water, the mechanical agency of these currents would bear them rapidly away.

"The 'show of oil' increases in value as a sign with the depth at which it is found. Especially is the finding of large quantities of imprisoned gas, though no oil may be present, regarded as a good indication that oil is near. A learned writer on the subject is inclined to attribute petroleum and its associated hydrogenous gases to a fermentation and distillation by subterranean heat of the hydrocarbon elements resident in all the carbonaceous strata underlying the rock oil region. Moreover, he is inclined to assign the oil and gas to the lower

deposits almost exclusively, for these reasons:—First, that they come forth, and very abundantly, in large districts, far remote from any tracts of the coal formation, and where those inferior rocks are the only carbonaceous ones which underlie the surface. Secondly, that a like discharge of petroleum and combustible gases occurs in some of the other coal-fields of the earth, even where their coal beds are notoriously bituminous and dangerously full of fire-damp. Thirdly, there are some differences, so the chemists inform us, between these native hydrogenous products, and the genuine coal oils and their resultants, procured by artificial methods of separation. From this it is inferred that the greater portion of the oil and gas is really derived from the marine animal carbonaceous shales, and not from the vegetable beds of coal and their coaly rocks."

The process of the extrication of the petroleum from the lower strata, and its accumulation in the pores, crevices, and joints of the upper ones, is believed by the same learned authority to be simply this:—That "during the epoch, or the perhaps successive epochs, of the uplifting of all these water-buried and water-side sedimentary strata, earthquake pulsations and other undulations of the crust formed and fixed the flexures in the strata as described, and that during the earthquake oscillations, and even after their cessation, a copious amount of the highly heated subterranean steam, the constant attendants upon earthquakes, heated the strained and ruptured rocky beds, dislodged their more volatile constituents, and carried or distilled these latter, one portion into the atmosphere and the residuary part into the interstices of the overlying cooler and less fractured strata. Upon this hypothesis we see how in those belts of the Alleghanies, where the crust was most con-

vulsed and the rocks were most contorted and highly heated, the coal beds were actually coked into dense anthracite, and how further, from the lines of maximum subterranean pulsation and steaming of the rocks, the volatile matters below the surface were progressively less expelled, till entering the petroleum districts the crust movements and warming were so moderate that they only sufficed to displace the tarry and gaseous matters from the underlying beds, to leave them, at least in part, in the cavities and cells and fractures of the over-resting strata."

The oil-bearing districts of the United States, although of vast value, are of small importance when compared with the immense gold-bearing regions of her huge mountain chain, which extends from the Isthmus of Tehuantepec to Behring Straits in North America, On this subject, again, I am able to borrow the following valuable information. First, as to the mountain range itself:—

"Known successively as the Cordilleras (link or chain) of Anahuac in Mexico, Sierra Nevada (Snowy Mountain) in California, and Cascade Mountains in Oregon, it is all along the same auriferous and volcanic Andes, having a narrow base, washed on the west by the tide, immense altitude, summits of perpetual snow, and formed of the columnar vulcan rock, or molten mass of lava. Between this continuous escarpment of rock and the sea is the maritime region of the Pacific, which contains all the present American population residing in California and Oregon, upon the smaller rivers running directly into the sea and parallel to one another. It resembles and is the counterpart of the maritime Atlantic declivity, which is shut off from the valleys of the Mississippi and St. Lawrence

by the Alleghanies. At the Isthmus of Tehuantepec the Andes bifurcate, throwing along the coast of the Mexican Gulf the great Cordillera of the Sierra Madre, which, opening rapidly from the Andes as the continent widens, and assuming in our territory the name of Rocky Mountains, traverses north to the shores of the Arctic Sea, being some 1,400 miles apart from and to the east of the Andes. The absolute separate existence of these two prodigious Cordilleras must remain distinctly in the mind, if the reader intends to understand American geography. The interval between them, from end to end, is occupied by the plateau of table-lands, on which are alike the cities of Mexico, Chihuahua and the Mormon city of Salt Lake. This plateau of the table-lands is two-sevenths of the surface of North America, is some 6,000 feet above the external oceans, and gives as complete a separation between the Cordilleras on the flanks as does the Atlantic, whose waters roll between the Alleghanies on this continent and the Alps in Europe. Thus, that side of the American continent, which may be defined to front Asia, and sheds its waters in that direction, has four characteristic divisions—the maritime front, the Andes, the plateau of the table-lands, and the Sierra Nevada—all extending the whole length from south to north, parallel to one another, and covering in the aggregate two-fifths of its whole area. The remaining three-fifths of the continent sheds its waters towards the Atlantic. From the Sierra Madre the whole continent descends to the seas by immense planes, resembling the glacis of a fortress or a flattened octagonal house-roof. Thus, from the dividing wall of the Sierra Madre the continent descends uninterruptedly to the Gulf, the North Atlantic and the Arctic Seas.

"The configuration of the Sierra Madre (the mother mountain of the world) is transcendently massive and sublime. Rising from a basement whose roots spread out 2,000 miles and more, its crest splits almost centrally the northern continent, and divides its waters to the two oceans. Novel terms have been introduced to define its characteristics: *mesa* expresses the level plateau of its summits; *canon*, the gorges rent in its slopes by the descending rivers; *bute*, the conical mountains isolated and trimmed into symmetrical peaks by atmospheric corrosion. The core or base of the Sierra Madre is red porphyritic granite, from the immense naked masses of which comes the popular sobriquet of 'Rocky' Mountains. This is the gold-producing quartz. The Sierra Madre is composed of the original mass of the globe, and has neither lava, craters, active volcanoes, nor traces of the igneous force within. It is pre-eminently primeval. Scooped out of its main mass are valleys of great size and beauty, which have received from the trappers the name of parks. These occur at regular intervals, alternately upon either flank, and mark the sources of the great rivers." They will be described further on.

"The Cordillera of the Sierra Madre enters the territory of the United States in latitude 29 degrees, longitude 103 degrees, and passes beyond the forty-ninth degree in longitude 114. Its length, then, within these limits, exceeds 1,600 miles. It maintains an average distance from the Mississippi river exceeding 1,000 miles, and has the same distance from the beach of the Pacific Ocean; it forms, therefore, a continuous summit crest parallel to and midway between them. The mountain crest has, when seen against the horizon, the resemblance of a saw or cock's-comb, whence

the sobriquet Sierra; the continuous mass upon which it rests, resembles a chain of links, or a cord with knots, whence the name Cordillera. The average elevation of the crest is 12,000 feet above the sea; breadth across, 300 miles.

"This Cordillera is auriferous throughout. It contains all forms of minerals, metals, stones, salts and earths; in short, every useful shape in which matter is elsewhere found to arrange itself, and in all the geological gradations. The prominent agricultural feature of the Cordillera is pastoral fertility. Stupendous peaks and battlements exist, extreme in bald and sterile nakedness; plains there are blasted with perpetual aridity and congealed by perpetual frosts. But the space thus occupied is small. Indigenous grasses, fruits, and vegetables abound; it swarms with animal life and aboriginal cattle; food for grazing and carniverous animals, fowls and fish, is everywhere found; the forests and flora are superlative; the immense dimensions of nature render accessibility universal. An atmosphere of intense brilliancy and tonic tone overflows and embalms all nature; health and longevity are the lot of man. Then we must reflect that the Cordillera of the Sierra Madre is but a third part in area of our 'mountain formation.'

"Without dwelling further upon this topic" (says the writer I am quoting), "we will proceed to a brief description of an immense area of country as little known to the American people as was America itself by the people of antiquity, and that is—the plateau of North America. This area contains within itself three great rivers, which rank with the Nile, the Ganges, and the Danube in length, and five great ranges of primary mountains. The whole immense area, encased within the Cordillera of the Sierra Madre on the east, and the Cor-

dillera of the Sierra Nevada de los Andes on the west, and from Tehuantepec by the Polar Sea, is the plateau of North America. It is 4,000 miles in length from south-east to north-west; its superficial area is 2,000,000 of square miles, and its altitude 6,000 feet above the sea. The portion within our territories at present is one-third of the whole country.

"Its longitudinal portion is remarkable, having its extremities within the equatorial and polar zones; but its greatest breadth and area are across the isothermal zone or belt. It is subdivided into seven great basins, which succeed one another in order, from the south towards the north. The basin of the City of Mexico is the first and most known. The second is the Bolsom di Mapimi, in Mexico; the third is the immense basin of the Rio del Norte; the fourth, the basin of the Colorado—the great Sierra Mimbres divides these two basins asunder, after the manner of a backbone, from which their waters descend down the reverse slopes. They are longitudinal, parallel, and overlap one another. Distinguished by stupendous volcanic phenomena they pre-eminently constitute the metalliferous region of the world. The confluent rivers of this basin, where they unite to form the Colorado, gorge the Andes by the wonderful canon of that name and debouch into the Gulf of California. The fifth is the basin of the Salt Lake; the sixth, the basin of the Columbia. The transverse chain of the Snake River mountains parts these two vast basins. Here is seen a most wonderful display of natural phenomena. The Snake and Columbia rivers, coming from opposite directions, unite together, gorge the Andes at the cascades, and debouch into the North Pacific Ocean. The seventh is the basin of the Frazer River. From thence the plateau continues its direction through a region as

yet but little known, and opens out upon the Polar Sea. Through nearly one-half the entire length of this vast plateau, say for a distance of 2,000 miles, a railroad can be built along the water grade of the Rio Bravo Grande del Norte and its confluent, the Conchos. This road may depart from the proposed American continental or Pacific road, under the fortieth degree of north latitude, bisecting the plateau longitudinally to the junction of the Cordilleras at Tabasco beneath the tropics. This is one of those gigantic plans for the development of the American continent which the surpassing richness of the region, and the steady and steel-like energies of our people, will in time put in successful execution.

"The climate of the plateau is peculiar, but very uniform. The genial and propitious climate of the isothermal temperate zone extends up and down the summits of the plains, and is felt at both extremities. The soils of the plateau are of the highest order of fertility. The dry and serene atmosphere converts the grasses into hay, and, preserving them without decay, perpetuates the food of grazing animals the year round. Meat food, hides, wool, fowls, fish, and dairy food are of spontaneous production. Spots of arid sand are few and insignificant: such as exist are from the auriferous granite, and contain placers of gold. The whole vast area is surcharged with gold. A perpetual, sure, and systematic irrigation dispenses with laborious manual tillage. In short, the plateau presents itself prepared and equipped by nature in all departments, at every point, and throughout its whole length, for the immediate entrance and occupation of organized society and the densest population. Accessibility to the plateau is wonderfully facile and unobstructed

over a tranquil ocean on the one hand, and by the great plains on the other. The success of the Mormon settlement and other flourishing communities upon the plateau, and the facility with which dense armies have been transported through it within a few years, demonstrate the capability of the region to sustain a dense population. Infinite is the assemblage of mountains, plains, and great rivers in every variety and magnitude that unite themselves to form the grand area of the plateau of America. The features of its geology are equally various, vast, and wonderful; both mountains and plains promiscuously appear, of carboniferous and sulphurous limestones, lava, porphyritic granite, columnar basalt, obsidian, sandstone, accompanied by their appropriate contents of precious and base metals, precious stones, coal, marbles, earth, thermal and medicinal streams and fountains, and all of these adorned by scenery for ever varying, fascinating, and sublime.

"The plateau," adds the writer from whom I am quoting, "has the prestige of antiquity to commend it to favour. It was here that Cortes and the Spanish conquerors found the gorgeous empire of the Montezumas—a polished people, highly cultivated, numbering many millions, and martyrs to their heroic devotion to the arts of peace. The same marked characteristics still show themselves undiminished in the existing aboriginal people, thinly scattered to the extreme north. Curious, intelligent, and credulous, heroic and timid, vibrating quickly from superstitious veneration to despair, they invite and receive the white man as a new divinity, and then recoil, to shun him with hate implacable till death. What a spectacle it will be to see these people become humanized and social under the great

moral influences which the central column of American progress carries with it.

"The remarkable valleys or 'parks' of the Colorado, alluded to above, are four in number, designated the North, Middle, South, and Sans Luis Parks. The San Luis Park is the most southern. They are of equal size, constituting together a system. They are in close juxtaposition, longitudinally annexed. The resemblance, each with the other, is perfect, yet in the details is observable a variety perfectly infinite. In physical features the San Luis Park is very remarkable. The smooth area is 9,400 square miles. The form is very nearly a perfect ellipse, its southerly curve being within the territory of New Mexico. A continuous envelope of mountains encloses it, whose crest everywhere ascends to the line of perpetual snow. It is the bowl of a primeval sea, which has been drained. In configuration this park is the counterpart of the basins of Geneva and Constance, enveloped within the Helvetian Alps. The altitude of the San Luis plain above the sea is 6,400 feet; of the enveloping peaks, 13,000 feet. Between the circumferent rim of the plain (which is prairie) and the snowy crest, rise undulating mountains of gradually ascending altitude; the flanks of these are gorged by descending streams, thirty-five in number. The northern portion—one-third of all—is called 'Rincon:' nineteen streams descending, converge into the Sawatch Lake, of fresh water, but having no outlet. These streams bear the name 'Alamosos.' The remaining area is bisected by the Rio Bravo del Norte, which enters through the western rim and issues out in the south. The plain is continuous as a water surface, having isolated volcanic butes, resembling islands, and an indented rim.

"The system of the four parks occupies a parallelogram cut through the centre of Colorado, from north to south, 200 miles wide and 400 long. They reach from latitude 36° 30′ to 41° 30′. The 106th degree, meridian, exactly bisects them all. The mother Cordillera, sweeping in successive and alternate curves, east and west, divides them one from the other. Each park gives birth to an immense river, departing alternately to the Atlantic and Pacific seas. Here are grouped mountains, parks, and rivers of stupendous dimensions and august sublimity. Spurs of the primary Cordillera curve around to embrace those fronts of the parks from which the great rivers debouch by canons. These parks have the same level as the great 'Plateau of America.' They form a part of its surface and assimilate to all its peculiar characteristics. There are parts of it sunk within the bulk of the primeval Cordillera.

"Remarking the identity in physical features of the parks thus closely grouped, but the infinite variety flowing from the juxtapositions of altitudes, depressions, permanent snows, running rivers, and the eccentric courses of the mountains and rivers, the details of the San Luis Park offer themselves for specific description. The plain is a drift soil abraded from the mountains and deposited by the currents of the water and of the atmosphere. The eastern half partakes of the qualities of the Cordillera, the western half of the qualities of the Sierra Mimbres. The mother Cordillera forms the eastern wall; the Sierra Mimbres the western wall of the San Luis Park. The mother Cordillera has a base and flanks of granite slopes inclining inwards as a pyramid, surmounted by stupendous masses of jurassic limestone, carried up, but not destroyed, by the upheaving volcanic forces. Neither

igneous, plutonic rock nor erupted lava is anywhere found or seen. The Sierra Mimbres, a mountain chain of the secondary order, has in a less proportion the primeval and sedimentary rocks, but presents the throats of ancient volcanoes, streams of lava once fluid, and immense pedrigals of igneous and plutonic rocks. The calcareous element, therefore, predominates in the alluvial soil, mixed with silicious and plutonic débris. These elements, intermixed by the action of water and the winds, present to arable and pastoral life a smooth surface for culture and perfect intrinsic fertility.

"Here is recognized an atmosphere and climate purely continental. Situated most remote from all the seas, of mountain altitude and encased all round by snowy Sierras, the atmosphere is intensely tonic, salubrious, and brilliant. Summer and winter divide the year, scarcely interrupted by vernal or autumnal seasons. The meridian sun retains its vitalizing heat throughout the year, while at midnight prevails a corresponding tonic coolness. The formation of light clouds along the crest of the Sierras is incessant. These are wafted away by the steady atmospheric currents coming from the west. They rarely interrupt the sunshine, but refracting his rays imbue the canopy with a shining silver light, at once intense and brilliant. The flanks of the great mountains, bathed by the embrace of these irrigating clouds, are clad with dense forests of pine, fir, spruce, and aspen, which protect the sources of springs and the running rivulets. With the forests alternate mountain meadows of luxuriant and nutritious grasses. The ascending clouds, rarely condensed, furnish little irrigation at the depressed elevation of the plains, which are destitute of timber, but

clothed in grass. These grasses, growing rapidly during the annual melting of the snows, cure into hay as the aridity of the atmosphere returns. They form perennial pastures and supply the winter food of the aboriginal cattle, everywhere indigenous and abundant. The critical conclusion to which a rigid study of nature brings the scrutinizing mind, is the reverse of first impressions. The multitudinous variety of nature adjusts itself with a delicate harmony which brings into concord all the industrial energies: arable agriculture, pastoral agriculture, and all the kindred pursuits of labour which rest upon this foundation and accompany its prosperous vigour. These are burnished, as it were, by the perpetual brilliancy and salubrity of the atmosphere and landscape, whose unfailing beauty and tonic taste invite the physical and mental energies to perpetual activity.

"In pastoral agriculture there is seen the spontaneous production by nature of meat, dairy food, hides, wool, and kindred elements, sustained as fish in the sea. It is here we find an immense self-sustaining element of food for the human family.

"For arable agriculture the area is equally ample in proportion, and of equally propitious excellence. The descending mountain-streams furnish irrigation to the plain, whose porous soils receive them to saturation. All the cereals and fruits known to the European people acclimate themselves with the same facility as the people themselves, and the domestic animals that accompany them. They receive a similar improvement from the tonic purity of the atmosphere and perennial sunshine. Over an area entirely enveloped by mountains, artesian waters may be everywhere procured.

"The streams and lakes abound in fish of great variety

and excellence. Water-fowl and native poultry, peculiar to the mountains and plains, are everywhere scattered; the swarm of animal life, of the aboriginal kind, and its variety is astonishing. All domestic animals known to our people, when substituted for them, equal them in adaptability and excellence.

"For manufacturing in all the departments of food, clothing and metals, all inducements of facility and economy present themselves. Fuel of wood and coal are accessible. Markets are found in the adjacent active mining regions of Colorado, New Mexico and Arizona.

"The San Luis Park extends from 36° 30′ to 38° 40′, and is bisected by the 106th degree meridian, very nearly the centre of the territory. It is an ellipse in form, 200 miles of longitude, and 75 of breadth. Roads penetrating the surrounding mountains, by easy passes, converge into it from all portions and departments of the external continent. Its whole area is scanned by the eye at one sight from the overhanging mountains. No feature of nature which enters into the composition of scenery, rising to the highest standard of sublimity and beauty, is wanting. A vernal temperature, dissolving tints of light and shade, a translucent canopy, intensely blue, a picturesque landscape and fantastic variety of form, blend themselves with the milk-white summits of the mountains to exhibit a panorama for ever fresh, graceful, and fascinating, outrivalling in celestial loveliness the Oriental and poetic beauties of the sylvan valley of Cashmere."

From the above description of the great auriferous regions of the United States, it will be seen that all that is required to make the nation and the people greater in wealth and

power than any the world ever saw, are industry and unity. In the course of a very few years, the Colorado and Nevada gold-bearing regions, are destined to exercise no small influence over the social condition of a large portion of the American people, but more particularly among the more recent settlements bordering the great prairie lands to the west of the Mississippi. During 1864 and 1865, large numbers of capitalists from the great commercial seats of industry on the eastern sea-board, have gone out to these regions in order to aid in developing their wonderful resources. Although the huge mountain ranges of the Colorado and the Sierra Nevada are inexhaustibly rich in both gold and silver, there are other resources which will shortly be developed, and will be made to contribute to the wealth in a degree little less if not equal to that of the precious metals. These mountain ranges contain a number of large basins, or rich alluvial plains, all of which are well watered by mountain streams; many of these find their way to central lakes, from which the water flies off by evaporation. The soil in these plains may be worked for ages without requiring to be renewed by manure, as their alluvial deposits are many feet in thickness. In many places the slopes of the hills furnish excellent pasture-ground for both sheep and cattle. Now that the agricultural and grazing farmers have a gradually opening market for the produce of their industry, the land will be speedily opened up and yield its rich and varied treasures. In the meantime the search after the precious metals is absorbing the general attention of the settlers, but as all the common necessaries of life have to be brought to the district by land-carriage over a distance of many hundreds of miles, everything required, either for the back or the belly, is excessively high in price.

As the farmers and other producers settle down, the price of food will gradually become reduced.

In the course of a short time these districts will be banded with iron rails, as branch lines from the Great Pacific line, which will unite the Pacific with the Atlantic Ocean. The return of peace to the United States will be the means of populating these central regions much sooner than would have happened under the ordinary circumstances of the country. Large numbers of the disbanded soldiers will find their way out, and in my opinion will do much better than going to Mexico to aid in overturning a government which is certain, if left alone, to prove a blessing to the people. The opening up of these great mountain ranges, with their fertile valleys, will ultimately be the means of populating the Pacific sea-board, where a glorious climate and inexhaustible wealth await the magic power of man's industry, to make them available for his use and the spread of civilization.

I would certainly not advise any of the working-classes of my own country to emigrate to these districts. The expense of the journey would be a serious matter, and even if a man could get there his wages would not be equal to what he could make in any of the Eastern States. In the meantime men of capital have a fair chance of making money. By the use of the most improved machinery, they are enabled to crush the gold out of the quartz, and reduce the crude silver ore to its virgin purity. Of course there is much money being made both by companies and private individuals, but the mere working man's share is comparatively small, in consequence of the high price of living.

I may appropriately conclude this chapter by observing, that a much greater stake depended on the result of the

struggle between North and South than is generally supposed. Not only would the breaking-up of the Union dispel the idea of democratic power and its perpetuation on this great continent, but it appears pretty evident to my mind that the independence of the South would cause the North to be abandoned by some of the richest and most fertile States in the Union. The city of New York owes her present greatness to the fact of her having monopolized nearly the whole trade and commerce of both the cotton, sugar, and grain-growing States. With few exceptions, the produce of the country which has been exported, as well as the foreign goods imported, have passed through the city; she has, therefore, become the one great market of the Union, and her merchants and traders have grown fat upon the spoils. Nearly all the manufactures of the country, too, have been carried on in the New England States of New York and New Jersey. In this respect the preservation of the Union will not prevent a great change being effected. Since the commencement of the war the Southern people have found the truth of the adage, that "Necessity is the mother of invention." From being merely an agricultural race, they have become masters of art, and dealers in all those things which make up the wants of a civilized people. With free ports their chances of prosperity at the expense of the North will be incalculable.

CHAPTER XI.

THE LATE CIVIL WAR.

Vastness of the Resources developed by America during the Progress of the War—Blunders of the Government at its Commencement—Character of the Officers first appointed—Divided Commands an Evil—Savage Cruelties by the Combatants on either Side—Raid in the Valley of the Shenandoah—Details of the Spoil and Destruction — Sketch of Sherman's March by an American Army Correspondent—The Prettiest Village in Georgia—Blotting-out a City—Functions of the "Bummer" in the Northern Army—Wildness of American Ambition—The Host of Rogues brought to the Surface by the War—The Bounty Brokers of Lafayette Hall—Morality of Officers — Connection of these Facts with the General Lawlessness of Americans in Peaceful Times — Superior Conditions of the American Service—Hospital Provisions and Pay of the Men—Future Use of the Army and Navy—Abrogation of the Reciprocity Treaty with Canada—Fallacy of Mr. Sumner's Argument shown by an American Press Writer.

The recent war in America could not fail to create a lively interest throughout the whole civilized world, not merely on account of the immense sacrifice of human life it has caused, but for the extraordinary energy shown by the people and the great resources yielded by the country. Armies and navies have been called into existence as if by the power of magic. These armaments, both in number and equipment, have been such as the world never before saw. From the first inauguration of the dreadful contest, the Northern people had many advantages over those of

the South. If the coloured race be excepted, their population was nearly three to one; their ports were open to the commerce of the world, while those of the South were all but closed. The North, too, commenced the contest with the whole manufacturing power of the country at her command, whereas the South was simply an agricultural district. The one division of the nation was filled with an active trading and commercial community, who were competing in nearly all the markets of the world with the old-established traders and manufacturers of Europe, while the other was peopled with a race who owed all they possessed to a bountiful soil and a genial climate.

When the war first broke out, the Northern people made a series of stupid blunders, the evils of which no subsequent care could rectify. In the first place, they treated the power of their enemy as almost too insignificant upon which to spend their mighty wrath. This feeling of contempt for the foe pervaded the mind of the people to such an extent that men who volunteered their services went forth, not to battle, but to enjoy a short holiday. Some of the fiery patriots, I have no doubt, had pleasant dreams of plunder in the South, and flattered themselves with the idea of returning before the end of their three months' service with souvenirs of their crusade which would be of more value to them than the proceeds of their labour had they remained at their occupations. The stampede of the Northern army at Bull's Run changed the minds of these fire-eaters, and some, who only snuffed the battle from afar, returned to their homes impressed with the idea that the men of the South were something more than cowards. The Government, in the

second place, either imagined that the Southern people were not in earnest, or that they thoroughly miscalculated their power of resistance. A third blunder consisted in enlisting men for short periods of three, six, nine, and twelve months. A fourth, in allowing a number of ruffians, rowdies, and loafers, to manufacture themselves into captains, on condition of each raising a company. Many of these men were bar-tenders and prigs, the habitués of gaming-hells and brothels; they were, therefore, a disgrace to the army, neither being fit for their duty by a knowledge of the profession, nor capable of exercising a due authority over their men by the possession of a moral status themselves. I was informed by men who had seen service, that it was no unusual thing for the more tyrannical officers of this class to be quieted by a bullet from their own ranks. The divided commands, too, during the first two years of the war was a most egregious mistake on the part of the President. As a general rule, the different commanders in the field were doing business upon their own account, and, as a consequence, they were continually in each other's way. A spirit of mean jealousy, coupled with feelings of envy among many of the field officers, was often ruinous to the plans of the generals in command. I have reason to think that both Burnside and Meade, while in command of the army of the Potomac, were ruined by the want of good faith on the part of their field officers. McClellan's reputation as a general was murdered by a political junta at which the vacillating President was a willing assistant, and, by that act of treachery, played into the hands of the enemy, and prevented the war from being brought to a speedy termination.

Looking at the unprepared condition of the country when the war commenced, the hasty manner in which both the army and the navy were put in fighting condition, and the general want of military knowledge, it is not strange that blunders should have occurred. I have, therefore, merely mentioned the above as being in the category of mistakes which might have been avoided by the exercise of ordinary prudence.

All great wars have been more or less characterized by great horrors and fearful exhibitions of human malignity. It is, however, a curious fact, and a sad reflection on human nature, that there is no strife so cruel, vindictive, and remorselessly revengeful, as that between the members of a common family. The civil war in America has been no exception to this rule. The barbarities and savage cruelties perpetrated by Zinghis Khan and Tamerlane, with their hordes of ruthless barbarians, have been repeated by the highly moral and religious Americans in their death-struggle with each other. It would be an impossible task to describe the scathing misery, the terrrible sufferings, and the heart-rending scenes through which thousands of the Southern people have passed, as the demons of war extended their operations. The armies of the North upon several occasions have left desolation in their track. The march of Sherman from Chattanooga to Atlanta, and from thence through the rich plains of Georgia to the city of Savannah, was to the terror-stricken people on his line as if the angel of death had swept over the land. The subjoined official report of Sheridan's raid in the Valley of the Shenandoah will give some little idea of the terrors of war on a limited scale :—

Estimate of Property destroyed by First Cavalry Division during the Campaign in the Shenandoah Valley.

	Number.	Value, Dols.
Barns	630	1,693,000
Flour Mills	47	314,000
Tons of Hay	3,455	103,670
Bushels of Wheat	410,742	1,026,105
Saw Mills	4	8,000
Furnaces	2	45,000
Woollen Mill	1	10,000
Acres of Corn	315	18,000
Bushels of Oats	750	750
Cattle driven off	1,347	36,380
Sheep	1,231	6,340
Swine	725	8,000
Barrels of Flour	560	6,720
Tons of Straw	255	2,550
Tons of Fodder	272	2,720
Tanneries	2	4,000
Railroad Depôt	1	3,000
Locomotive Engines	1	10,000
Box Cars	8	1,500
Total Money Value		Dollars 3,304,735

Property captured by the Third Cavalry Division, and turned over and Receipts received therefor.

Artillery, pieces	51
Caissons	30
Battery Waggon	1
Army Waggons	44
Spring Waggons and Ambulances	28
Medicine Waggon	1
Horses	426
Mules	189
Sets of Artillery Harness	207
Sets of Waggon Harness	197
Heads of Beef Cattle	152

Property destroyed by the Third Cavalry Division.

	Number.		Value, Dols.
Flour Mills	15	.....	100,000
Saw Mills	10	.....	60,000
Barns, containing Wheat, &c.	400	.....	600,000
Bushels of Wheat	200,000	.....	400,000
Bushels of Corn	300,000	.....	400,000
Bushels of Oats	90,000	.....	130,000
Cattle driven off	500	.....	15,000
Sheep driven off	400	.....	8,000
Columbia Furnace	1	.....	100,000
Caissons	3	.....	1,000
Waggons	15	.....	15,000
Total		Dollars	1,155,000

In a recapitulation the report adds that the total amount of property destroyed, the destruction of which is a loss to the rebel army, without including the value of articles specified as captured but not destroyed, and turned over for use, &c., is *six million nine hundred and forty thousand one hundred and twenty-eight dollars.*

When it is also fully known what has been taken for the use of the army without being directly accounted for, and when, furthermore, we consider the total amount of property captured and destroyed by the infantry corps, the aggregate will be considerably larger. These particulars, it must be remembered, refer to no more than one incident in the war—the Shenandoah Valley campaign.

The following description of Sherman's march on entering Georgia is from the pen of one of the army correspondents of the *Herald*:—"Geary's division, in advance, reached Rutledge village and railroad station about eleven o'clock in the forenoon of the 18th. The village was even less imposing in appearance than the Circle. The railroad depôt, engine-house, and turning-table were the most valuable pieces of property in the place,

so they were destroyed by fire at once. A small warehouse, in which was stored a considerable quantity of corn and wheat, was also burned, after the negroes and poor white women had carried away all they could. We were now travelling through a country of fine farms, where forage was plenty, and the animals of the twentieth corps were rapidly recovering from the short commons of Atlanta. Foraging parties swept the country three or four miles on either side of the column, and tall black columns of smoke told where they had been. At all the large plantation-houses small lots of cotton were found. In no one case that came under my eye were there more than twenty-five bales in the cotton-house. These lots were invariably burnt, and only in rare instances were the presses and gin-houses spared. Nearly 300 bales of cotton were destroyed during the day's march. Eight miles above Madison, we passed Mr. Lane's place, the proprietor of which had gone to Augusta upon learning of the presence of the Yankees at Rutledge. The females of the family, including an elderly lady from New Haven, Connecticut—rabidly disunion—were left in charge of the premises and stock of decrepit negroes. Everything edible was removed by the troops without a halt of the column. Lieutenant Howgate employed an aged African lady to cook biscuits for us; but they were lapped up by the stream of soldiers, batch after batch, till we tired of waiting our turn. Honey was taken, geese were gobbled up, and cattle driven off. The place was stripped. Here we learned that the Yankee column was thought to be a foraging party from Atlanta; that we were expected soon to turn back. We reached a cosy spot two miles from the village of Madison that night. The cavalry visited the town and burned the depôt and express-office before they slept.

"Madison, the county seat of Morgan county, is really one of the prettiest villages I ever saw. In a country unsurpassed for agricultural pursuits, every acre of which was improved, the town looked too pretty to think of in connection with the march of an army. The population of Madison before the war was about 1,500, and the village represented a great deal of wealth. Fine brick residences, with tasteful lawns, flower-gardens, conservatories, and arbours, were common on all the streets leading to the great square, where stood the court-house. On three sides of this square were the merchants' shops: on the fourth a large hotel building. The Madison Female College, one of the best institutions of its kind in the State, was accidentally burnt a week before we reached town. The troops marched into Madison and halted. A brigade from Wood's division was moved down to the railroad depôt, and set at work upon the track and the buildings overlooked by the cavalry the night before. A shed close at hand, containing 130 bales of cotton, shared the fate of other property in that vicinity. Meanwhile other troops — stragglers in advance of the brigades halted at the edge of the town—came pouring into the square. Very quickly and unaccountably—for nobody could be found who did it—a mixed dealer's store was opened, and I saw the commencement of real pillaging. Hordes of grinning negroes gathered around, entered the store or picked up articles thrown out to them by the soldiers. Augers, salt, school-books, padlocks, harness-trimmings, earthenware, brooms—a miscellaneous collection and large stock—were carried off or strewn about the store and the street in front. Such a picture of a wreck I never saw before. The post-office was broken open, and soldiers sat around on the curbstones reading correspondence. A drug store was

gutted, the glass cases broken, the big red and green bottles —without which no show window of a drug store is complete —were crushed. The floor was strewn with broken glass, drawers pulled out, and the contents thrown into the mix, while a vile stench went up. A milliner's establishment was sacked, and all sorts of gaudy things seized for the decoration of the pretty fellows who did it. I saw a bold cavalryman ride away at great speed with an object in his arms which I at first took to be a splendidly dressed lady, though it proved to be a wire model of a female form used by the stricken milliner for the display of mantillas and dress goods. In a doctor's office soldiers were examining a wired skeleton with the airs of owls. They shook hands with him, poked him in the ribs, rattled him, and wagged his head from side to side, asking him if he "didn't want to jine." Others smelt at the collection of bottles, or pored over the doctor's accounts. Fortunately none of them made such a mistake as taking poison."

The process of "blotting-out a city," in Yankee phrase, is thus described :—

"A few small fires occurred in Atlanta on Sunday night and during the forenoon of Monday, but they created no particular excitement, since the Michigan mechanics and engineers had already commenced work on the railroad in town. Everything in the way of destruction was now considered authorized, and not to be wondered at. The mechanics, with levers made for the purpose, overturned length after length of rail, piled up pile after pile of ties, and burned and twisted rails without number. On Marietta Street, Winship's iron foundry and machine shops—property worth hundreds of thousands of dollars—took fire and were destroyed;

an oil refinery near by caught from the flying sparks, and was soon in a fierce blaze; next followed a freight warehouse, in which were stored fifty or sixty bales of cotton; there the engineers worked under a heavy cloud.

"Tuesday morning, November 15, the Fourteenth Corps marched into town noisily by the Marietta road, past the smouldering ruins of Monday's fires, and the Twentieth corps marched out by the Decatur road, through a quarter then unscathed. Part of the day was occupied in issuing clothing and rations to the Fourteenth, and the loading of commissary and quartermaster stores for the campaign. While this was going on, before noon, some warehouses on Whitehall Street were fired. Tall blocks of brick buildings on either side of that, and Peach Tree Street, were burning fifteen minutes later. The Atlanta Hotel, Washington Hall, in short the whole square around the great railroad shed, were soon in flames. Drug-stores, dry-goods' stores, hotels, commission stores, negro marts, places of amusements—including the Athenæum—covering a space of twenty acres or more, in the heart of the city, burned fiercely, and the black smoke rolled up. The pillars supporting the great Union passenger depôt had been knocked out and the roof had fallen to the ground, covering with a mass of débris a collection of worn-out army waggons, shelter tents, refuse camp stores, &c. This was fired, and added to the fury of the flames. A mine was exploded under a large stone warehouse near by, and that became a ruin. The round house, freight buildings, repair shops and water tanks of the Georgia railroad, next came in for destruction. Smoke and flame burst forth unexpectedly from the windows of blocks as one passed them, and soon cut off retreat by the same route. The fire was too fast for

the quartermasters, and they gave permission to the soldiers to take what they pleased of the remaining stores. With shouts the men plunged under the smoke, burst windows and doors with muskets and staves, and emerged with arms full of coats and blankets. Fire burned over two-thirds of the city, Yankee shells, which had been thrown into the buildings during the siege, exploded as the fire progressed; howling men darted hither and thither through the hot streets in the dim light under the clouds of smoke, and the whole seemed a perfect pandemonium. It was the total destruction of the business part of the city. When I rode out, at five P.M. on Tuesday, the heart of Atlanta was a shapeless mass of ruins —bricks, tin roofs, charred and burning timbers—and the balance of the town was in a fair way for being burned. The sun seemed a blood-red ball through the cloud of smoke that overhung Atlanta as I looked back from the fortifications on the Decatur road."

With regard to the extent of destruction the writer adds: "The Atlanta of to-day is probably not half so large as the city when our army sat down before it in July. The Front House is the only hotel left; there are no railroad buildings, and no material which can be made of service in rebuilding them; there are no railroads and no straight iron or ties to construct them; there are no workshops, no warehouses, no tanneries, and no stores except such as were isolated from the business portion of the town. The churches were left; but scores of private residences, the homes of wealthy rebels, were destroyed. Of course it is impossible to estimate the amount of damage in dollars and cents (rebel), for the mind is lost in calculating it; but when I tell you that upwards of one million of dollars of United States' property was destroyed

before we left, you may estimate the rebel and Georgia losses for yourselves."

And now for the Bashi-bazouk element in the American army; this correspondent writes:—"I have used the word 'bummer' in my accounts, and it has been suggested that many of your readers do not know the meaning of the term. It has now a recognized position in the army lexicon. Any man who has seen the object that it applies to will acknowledge that it was admirably selected. Fancy a ragged man, blackened by the smoke of many a pine-knot fire, mounted on a scrawny mule, without a saddle, with a gun, a knapsack, a butcher's knife and a plug hat, stealing his way through the pine forests far out on the flanks of a column, keen on the scent of rebels, or bacon, or silver spoons, or corn, or anything valuable, and you have him in your mind. Think how you would admire him if you were a lone woman, with a family of small children, far from help, when he blandly inquired where you kept your valuables. Think how you would smile when he pryed open your chests with his bayonet or knocked to pieces your tables, pianos, and chairs; tore your bed clothing in three inch strips, and scattered the strips about the yard. The 'bummers' say it takes too much time to use keys. Colour is no protection from these roughriders. They go through a negro cabin in search of diamonds and gold watches, with just as much freedom and vivacity as they 'loot' the dwelling of a wealthy planter. They appear to be possessed of a spirit of 'pure cussedness.' One incident of many will illustrate:—A 'bummer' stepped into a house and inquired for sorghum. The lady of the house presented a jug, which he said was too heavy, so he merely filled his canteen. Then taking a huge wad of tobacco from his mouth

he thrust it into the jug. The lady inquired, in wonder, why he spoiled that which he did not want. 'Oh, some feller'll come along and taste that sorghum, think you've poisoned him; then he'll burn your damned old house.' There are hundreds of these mounted men with the column, and they go everywhere. Some of them are loaded down with silverware, gold, coin, and other valuables. I hazard nothing in saying that three-fifths (in value) of the personal property of the counties we have passed through is in Sherman's army to-day. The yield of horses and waggons has not been so large as in the Georgia campaign. In the matter of food we have fared quite as well."

In this description of the brutal and wanton destruction of property, we see how the dogs of war have been let loose, and how men professing to be Christians can amuse themselves over mountains of human misery; no degree of civilization will ever smooth the rugged features of war; neither Christianity nor philosophy can ever destroy its hell-born horrors. Reader, reflect for a moment upon the character of the arm of the service under the title of *bummers*, which has been employed in the Northern army, and you will have some faint idea of the truly savage hordes who have overrun the fair fields of the Southern States. In reading these accounts of wholesale murder and rapine, we must bear in mind that the actors in the dreadful tragedy are a people who have thrown the onus of all the Old World's wars upon kings and nobles. War is the cursed offspring of human pride, and its demands are the same by whomsoever waged — death, and destruction of the produce of human labour. One would naturally suppose that the people who live by their labour, and whose sole property is

vested in their industrial energy, would be decidedly adverse to war, particularly a war of aggression, and shrink from it as one of the greatest evils which could befal their country. But this does not seem to be the case. The present conflict will mortgage the industry of millions of men for ages, yet, strange as it may appear, the people are ever ready to become the slavish tools of ambitious and designing men. Before the Americans went to war with Mexico, they possessed more territory than they really knew what to do with; they are impressed with the idea that the United States should and must embrace the continent from the Isthmus of Darien to the Arctic regions, and this notion is continually kept alive both by the press and the leading public men of the country. Working-men do not reflect that in lending their aid to carry out such a wild scheme of gigantic appropriation, they would be hastening the downfall of the Republic, inasmuch as no single power with so much delegated authority for its management could hold it in hand for any length of time. Of course the people are flattered by the office-hunters and men in power, and they are vain enough to pique themselves upon being citizens of the greatest nation of modern times. This idea of the extension of empire is in keeping with feelings of inordinate pride, which, when it receives its full measure, will bring its own punishment as sure as water obeys the laws of gravitation.

When I say that the Southern people, whose country has been made the theatre of war, have suffered indescribable misery, I do not wish to imply that the Northern soldiers were less humane than the enemies they fought against: the fact is, this contest called into action the worst feelings

of human nature, and it would be hard to say when the bitterness of death will pass away. The soldiers of both armies have proved good soldiers, and their valour and deeds of daring in the face of death have been equal to any recorded in the history of either ancient or modern times.

On the other hand, I believe that no country in the world *could have* produced such a host of rogues as America during the late war. There is no single department under Government that has not given birth to a nest of plunderers. From field officers down to counter-jumpers, and from army contractors to employés in the Government works, by all alike the greenbacks have been considered fair game. I do not know of any class of public robbers who are such dastardly scoundrels as the foreign bounty jumpers. These men not only rob the State, but they perjure their crooked souls into the bargain, and among this class I look upon the English emigrants, not yet admitted to citizenship, as being the worst. Pages might be filled with details concerning these swindling recruits, and the rascality of politicians of all classes connected with their misdeeds. A new trade was organized, that of "the bounty brokers," who were in league with special committees formed of Democrats and Republican supervisors. "It was thus at Lafayette Hall," says a writer in one of the New York papers, "where, in all the monstrous swindling of recruits, we find three figures conspicuous. One is a Republican bounty broker and a prominent member of the Republican party, who is supposed to have 'divided his pile' with the still more prominent Republicans who backed him up and secured for him immunity from military punishment. The second chief bounty broker is a Democrat, appointed on the recommendation

of the Democratic element in the committee of the Board of Supervisors, and he, it would seem, had to share his unholy profits with that faction of the 'ring' which had appointed him; while the third great bounty swindler was a neutral in politics, but on terms of old and suspicious intimacy with such of the military authorities as would have to obtain 'consideration' for allowing the foul practices of the recruiting station to be carried on.

"The machinery of fraud thus organized, the next step was to obtain examining surgeons and mustering officers who would act in concert with the plunderers. Men over forty-five and boys under eighteen had to be passed as able-bodied soldiers. Sick men, crippled men, soldiers discharged for physical disability, and men labouring under horrible complications of disease, were thus taken into the service, the brokers pocketing, on an average, 250 out of the 315 dollars allowed by the county, and charged upon the county property for the procurement of each recruit. Nor was this all; nor was this the worst of it. The immense profits to be made in the business soon attracted to Lafayette Hall all the ticket-swindlers, baggage-smashers, and other desperadoes of our population, who took service under the three chief bounty brokers in the capacity of 'runners.' All sorts of violent and scandalous devices were then at once put into requisition for the purpose of securing recruits. Bar-tenders were hired to drug the liquor of strangers who were brought into their dens by the 'runners.' Mere boys on their way to school were seduced into drinking-houses, and woke up on Riker's Island, arrayed in uniform and without a dollar in their pockets. In fact, the system of outrage which had its head-quarters at Lafayette Hall might be

described as only limited within the area of criminal ingenuity and the daring of the worst classes in our city."

The little I have said and quoted conveys a very inadequate idea of the facts in all their extent and atrocity, but the subject is not one on which I care to linger. So far as I have been able to learn, there is no class of men who have had any business with the Government, but some of their members have committed themselves by dishonest practices. The number of officers who have been dismissed the service in the army is calculated to give a sad idea of the low standard of morality of large numbers of men bearing commissions in that arm of the service. A short time ago not less than one hundred officers were tried by a court-martial, the majority of whom were ignominiously cast upon society with the brand of infamy on their characters. In another case the records of court-martial in the cases of forty-eight military officers were officially promulgated. These include two lieutenant-colonels, three majors, fifteen captains, eighteen first lieutenants, and eight second lieutenants. They had committed various offences, such as making false returns, disobedience of orders, fraudulently receiving money, misbehaviour before the enemy, gambling and drinking with enlisted men, &c., and fifteen were convicted of drunkenness. Nearly all of these officers were dismissed the service. With such a want of moral rectitude and gentlemanly bearing in the ranks of men holding commissions, we cannot be surprised at any amount of licentiousness on the part of the common soldiers. Evidently there was a lack of discipline in the volunteer army of the United States, otherwise the service would not have been disgraced by so many rogues and ruffians. I may here mention that much crime was

perpetrated in the army under the impression that it would be allowed to pass with the same impunity as if the agents were under the civil law, the working of which has been the subject of a previous chapter. These sore spots which tell so much against the moral condition of the American army could not exist in anything like the same degree in any of the European armies; there are, however, other features in the United States military service which all the European Governments would do well to copy. The American soldier carries the personal independence of the civilian into the camp with him, and as long as he does his duty he commands the respect due to him as a man and a citizen of a free country, and what is more, the highest post of honour is open to him, if only he have brains enough to make his way up to it. At the present time thousands of men who passed their probation in the ranks are holding commissions in every grade of the American service. The conduct of many of these men has been alike honourable to themselves and a credit to their country.

The American soldiers, too, are not only well fed and well cared for, so far as regards their health and comfort, but their pay is much above that of the soldiers of any of the Old World nations. The hospitals are models of cleanliness and comfort. I went through one of these institutions in the city of Newark, which was set apart for men of colour. It appeared to me that there was nothing wanting connected with the interest of the inmates; all the sanatory arrangements were thoroughly complete, food was plentiful and of the best quality; the requirements of the mind, too, were not forgotten; newspapers and books were in general use, and were lying about in abundance.

The pay of a private soldier in the regular United States army is thirteen dollars a month. In the volunteer service it is sixteen dollars. Although the men in the military service are well fed, well clothed, and well paid, I look upon the navy as holding out much greater inducements: the men have less labour to undergo. Under ordinary circumstances they are not liable to the same privations. They are as well paid, and have fewer opportunities to spend their money; while in time of war their attachment to the service is kept alive by the prospect of obtaining prize-money.

In addition to the consequences already mentioned, it will be found that the war has called into existence a new order of men in the State, whose power for good or evil will be exceedingly great. It is not likely that the United States army and navy will again sink into their former state of inefficiency, or be retained as national ornaments merely; military power has charms for a very large number of men, particularly in the middle and upper ranks of society, and in a country where an army is engaged in active warfare, there are thousands of men who are ever ready to serve the Government by plundering from the national funds. It would be fortunate, perhaps, for the United States herself if Mexico on the south, and Canada on the north, were sufficiently strong to check the grasping power of the people, and, by that means, confine them within the limits of a territory which is even now too unwieldy for efficient management.

I had finished this chapter when my attention was called to the fact that the Senate had repealed the reciprocity treaty with Canada by a large majority. This act is a proof of the animus, not only of the legislators towards

Great Britain, but it is in accordance with the thoughts and feelings of the great mass of the people in the United States. From the manner in which this international question was discussed, it is very evident that American statesmen are frequently impelled to action by passion rather than by judgment, and this is particularly the case in all matters appertaining to the little island over the way. Mr. Sumner, of Massachusetts, went down to the House laden with inland revenue statistics, by which he proved to his own satisfaction, and that of the House, that because the people of Canada took more goods from the United States than the latter imported from them, the people of the States were losing by the treaty! The following article from the pen of the gentleman who writes the commercial notices for the *Herald* will give a very fair view of the case, and show the utter fallacy of Sumner's logic. I have not the pleasure of knowing who this gentleman is, but he is evidently a man of sound liberal opinions, and very much at home in matters of political economy :—

"The vote of the Senate, by thirty-one against eight, in favour of the abrogation of the reciprocity treaty with Canada, indicated the general feeling on the subject of our relations with Great Britain and her possessions, more than a sound politico-economic view of the question. The arguments both for and in opposition to a repeal of the treaty were inadequate and without breadth of grasp; and very few of those who cast their votes on one side or the other showed that they had taken any pains to inform themselves of the facts relating to the treaty and their bearings, so as to be enabled to draw fair conclusions, while those who appeared to have done so failed by their observations to view them in a

comprehensive light *pro* and *con*, although Mr. Hale, of New Hampshire, discussed the subject with tolerable impartiality. He argued that, as the exports to Canada from the United States had increased in value from 7,000,000 dols., in 1853, to 28,000,000 dols. in 1863, and the imports from 490,000 dols. to 20,000,000 dols., that therefore the treaty had been beneficial in developing our trade with the neighbouring provinces.

"Mr. Sumner, on the other hand, took the opposite side, and argued like a protectionist of the last century. He divided the treaty under four different heads, viz., the fisheries, the navigation of the St. Lawrence, the commerce between the United States and the British provinces, and the revenue of the United States. With regard to the fisheries, the treaty had put an end to the mutual irritations before occurring; but this was about the only credit he gave it. The navigation of the St. Lawrence was a plausible concession which had proved little more than a name, for during the first six years of the treaty only forty American vessels had passed seaward through the St. Lawrence, and only nineteen returned by the same open highway. The commerce of the country had increased immensely; but it was difficult to see how much of this increase was owing to the treaty. The increase of population and the railroad systems of the two countries had been a greater reciprocity treaty than any written on parchment.

"In the three years next preceding the treaty, the total exports to Canada and the other British provinces were 48,216,518 dols., and the total imports 22,588,577 dols.—being of exports to imports in the proportion of 100 to 46. In the ten years of the treaty the total exports to Canada and the British provinces were 256,350,931 dols., and the total

imports 200,399,786 dols.—the exports being in the proportion of 100 to 78. The total exports to Canada for the three years preceding the treaty were 31,866,865 dols., and the imports 6,587,674 dols.—being in the proportion of 100 to 52; while the whole exports to Canada alone during the ten years of the treaty were 176,371,911 dols., and the imports 161,474,347—or in the proportion of 100 to 94.

"The very unstatesmanlike deductions of Mr. Sumner from these figures are, that if no treaty had existed, and the trade had increased in the same ratio as before the treaty, Canada would have paid to the United States during the ten years of the treaty at least 16,373,800 dols., which she has been in this way relieved of. 'This sum,' says Mr. Sumner, 'has actually been lost to the United States;' and this remark alone shows him to be but a sorry political economist. In the first place, he assumes almost an impossibility when he supposes that the trade between the two countries would have increased in the same ratio if the treaty had not been in operation. It was the treaty that mainly caused the increase. In the next instance, Mr. Sumner makes a grave mistake when he says the United States 'lost' the amount stated. He overlooks the important fact, that all taxes upon commodities fall ultimately upon the consumers, and that by importing goods during the last ten years from Canada under the treaty, we were saving in their reduced cost what would otherwise have been expended in duties. Mr. Sumner, on the same principle, would consider the customs' duties a gain to the United States, whereas those duties are paid by the people of this country to the Government, and the import tax reaches every citizen who consumes imported goods as directly as any other tax does.

"During the ten years referred to, continued Mr. Sumner, the United States have actually paid to Canada for duties 16,802,962 dols., while in the same period Canada has paid in duties to the United States the very moderate sum of 930,447 dols. 'Here, again, is a vast disproportion to the detriment of the United States.' Such reasoning reminds us of the debates on trade and finance which took place in the British House of Commons before Adam Smith and his followers cleared away the mists and cobwebs of ancient prejudice, and began a new era in the science of political economy. These ideas, however, have long since been exploded by enlightened statesmen, sound thinkers, and the teachings of experience.

"If Mr. Sumner, instead of bringing false reasoning to bear upon false premises, and thereby exposing his own ignorance of what he was discussing, had said:—'I am strongly opposed to this treaty, and have made up my mind to advocate its repeal because I think Canada is making more out of it than we are, and considering her sympathy with the rebels during this war, and the fact that she is a British dependency, we are justified in punishing her by withdrawing the privileges of the treaty,' his course would have been less open to criticism, for he would have expressed a sentiment which would have met with popular favour. But to disguise the sentiment, if such was the sentiment entertained, under such a cloak of argument as he adopted, and ascribe false reasons for the repeal, was pusillanimous; while if, as we are to suppose, he believed what he said, he showed himself sadly behind the age in his knowledge of the laws of trade.

"The abrogation of the treaty is a matter of little consequence, however, to the United States. The latter has derived some benefit from it, but Canada much more. It will,

of course, encourage smuggling to a great extent along our frontier line, which, considering its length and exposure, it will be difficult, if not impossible, to prevent. It will add a trifle to our customs' duties, which will be adding so much to the general taxation of the people; and it will diminish the legitimate trade between the two countries, to the great regret and loss, no doubt, of the provincials; but when we have said this, we have noted about all the material changes likely to result from the repeal."

CHAPTER XII.

SANATORY FAIRS AND CHARITIES.

Impulsiveness of Public Feeling in America—Institutions called into Existence by the late War—The United States Christian Commisssion, and the Sanatory Commission—Inauguration of the System of Fancy Fairs—Statement of Funds collected—Asserted Corruption of the Management—Spread of the Institution—Large Sums collected by other Means—Prosperity of the United States before the War—Future Fate of Wounded Soldiers and the Families of the Killed—The Coloured Freedman's Society—The Southern Refugees' Society—Generosity of Americans—Benevolent Institutions for the Assistance of Destitute Immigrants.

I HAVE already adverted to the impulsive character of the American people. It would seem that when even a small wave gets hold of the public feeling, it will not unfrequently roll on until it becomes a mountain billow, and causes an upheaving of the entire mass. When the Atlantic cable was completed, the public mind was excited into a condition of wild joyousness, and the nation revelled in a jubilee from one end of the country to the other. The visit of the Prince of Wales made "men forget their loves and debts, and think of their sorrows no more." Democracy bent its willing knee before a royal idol, and the sovereign people "tossed their ready caps in the air." When the Hungarian patriot paid his respects to the New World, the people offered the warm incense of their hearts before him: the rich

rivalled each other in their homage to the noble exile; and for the time being all party distinctions were swallowed up in a loud tribute of hearty respect for the unsuccessful defender of his country—a rebel! During the late war it is but a weak expression of the fact to say, that the nation lived by excitement, renewed from day to day, and that the billows of popular frenzy rose and fell according as the hands of Moses were elevated or depressed. Yet it would not be just to conclude that, because the Americans are an excitable people, they are wanting in firmness, determination of character, or caution. Occasional demonstrations of public feeling, such as those to which I have alluded, arise more from a spirit of independence than from a vital enthusiasm for the subject. It must be remembered, too, that the working men, as a body, have really little or no pleasure in the ordinary every-day routine of their lives. It is therefore nothing strange that they should be easily acted upon when their feelings or their pride are for a moment excited.

These reflections are suggested by the fact, that two institutions have been called into existence by the rebellion, both of which will leave the impress of their characters upon the history of the time. The first of these is the United States Christian Commission, being originally the Young Men's Christian Commission; and the other is the Sanatory Commission. The object of the Christian Commission was to minister to the moral and religious wants of the soldiers in the camp and in the field, and supply them with creature comforts in the shape of food and clothing when required. In the year 1863 this society sent sixty-three agents to ameliorate the condition of the men who were fighting the battles of their country. These agents were all men of social

standing, being either clergymen of various denominations, or men having power over their own time. During the year 1863 the commission supplied books, periodicals, and other publications to the men in the army and navy to the amount of 27,340 dollars. In looking over the report of the commission for 1862, I find that the value of stores and publications distributed amounted to 142,150 dollars. It may be here noted that the whole machinery of this institution, with the exception of about a dozen superintending agents, is conducted free of expense.

Large as were the sums of money collected and expended by this society, they fall far short of the receipts and disbursements of the Sanatory Commission. I have it from good authority that before the Sanatory Commission inaugurated their system of fancy fairs, they had realized nearly five millions of dollars by collections at public meetings and private subscriptions. I have also heard it affirmed that it was at one time a dangerous matter for a man, in seeming good circumstances, to refuse giving a donation when called upon. The movement has been vaunted, not without reason, as "one of the most beautiful and gigantic exhibitions of patriotism ever witnessed on the earth." Its substantial results may be estimated in the gross from the following tolerably accurate statement of the net proceeds of the fairs:— Chicago, 75,000 dols.; Cincinnati, 120,000 dols.; Boston, 147,000 dols.; Brooklyn, 300,000 dols.; Cleveland, 120,000 dols.; Buffalo, 100,000 dols.; New York, 1,200,000 dols.; St. Louis, 575,000 dols.; Philadelphia, 1,300,000 dols.; Pittsburg, 350,000 dols.; smaller fairs aggregate about 150,000 dols. Total, 4,437,000 dols.

From reports in circulation it would appear that this

society has not been free from the peculating spirit of the times: the following remarks are from the *Herald*, in which paper they were headed "Sanatory Fairs, their money and morals." Perhaps Dr. Bellows could throw some light on the subject?

"We had supposed that all these concerns had closed up shop, that the managers had pocketed all the stealings, and that we should hear no more of them. But it seems we were mistaken. We have received a circular from a committee of the Western Illinois Sanatory Fair, dated at Quincy, Illinois, asking donations from us to some department or other in the fair, and promising that this will be the last demand of the kind upon us from the same quarter for some time to come. We have had appeals enough on behalf of these sanatory fairs. We have given enough, and shall give no more. Five or six millions of dollars have been collected at these sanatory fairs throughout the country, and at least one-third of the receipts have been stolen by managers, or entirely misappropriated. Between one and two millions were realized at the sanatory fair in New York alone; in Brooklyn nearly half a million more. And if more than two-thirds of the sums have been disposed of to a good and proper purpose, we shall be glad to know it. The balance has been diverted from its legitimate direction, and used for private purposes. We see men now living in grand houses, riding in splendid carriages, and indulging in all sorts of extravagant displays, who, before their connection with these sanatory fairs, were obscure people, living in obscurer places, and apparently not peculiarly able to rise above the level of the humblest in society. In one case a new opera was produced under the auspices of a golden flood poured from a side sluiceway in our metropolitan

sanatory fair. All these fairs have proved to be grand schemes of robbery from beginning to end, and are of a piece with the peculations recently exposed in the case of the late Surgeon-General Hammond, which is one of the most atrocious instances of official corruption that has ever come to our knowledge. The Government is to blame for not taking steps to punish such culprits, and serving them like Colonel D'Utassy, by sending them for a long term to the State prison."

The fancy fair has become quite an American institution; it is certainly a good idea to besiege men's pockets by the winning smiles and irresistible blandishments of lovely women—ladies I mean. These fairs are used for all sorts of purposes in which money has to be raised, from the building of churches to the supplying of cripples with wooden understandings. It is often amusing to see how readily even shrewd men of the world will allow themselves to be gammoned by pretty forms in crinolines into purchasing things which are neither ornamental nor useful. A spirit of rivalry has much to do with the success of these concerns; the ladies are flattered with their positions behind stalls, and the self-esteem of the men called into agreeable excitement by the polite attention of the lovely hucksters. Whatever may be thought of the manner in which the money for the Sanatory Commission was raised and expended, the scheme has had its advantages. It has supplied a lesson in organization, the system adopted having been as perfect as anything of the kind could be, and it has proved the willingness of the people to respond to the call made upon their generosity.

Over and above the large sums which the exigencies of

the war has called forth, it is estimated that the State of New York alone has contributed, what with public money and private contributions, upwards of 100,000,000 dollars to soldiers in the shape of bounty. The circumstances which enable the people to disburse such sums of money show the prosperous condition the country was in before the war broke out. In the first year of the present century the total income of the nation from all her sources was 86,303,228 dollars, before the commencement of the war this sum had swelled to within a trifle of 2,000,000,000! This statement embraces land, houses, stocks, manufactures, and exports. The rapid increase of wealth in the United States is greatly owing to the application of steam to machinery, by which the power of production has been unprecedentedly increased, and the transport of property made both cheap and quick. In a country like America, things could scarcely have been otherwise. Her natural resources only required opening up, and for this end she had both the skill and capital of the Old World ready to aid her. During the last sixty years she has been enriched by the brains and muscles of more than 7,000,000 emigrants, who became interested in her growing prosperity. Let the free-soilers, who a short time ago wished to check the influx of foreigners, think of this, and reflect upon the condition their country would now be in, had it not been strengthened by this large infusion of fresh blood, and more especially by the enormous influx of immigrants speaking the English tongue.

Notwithstanding what has been done by these commissions, the people still owe a large debt to the members of both the army and navy; tens of thousands of men are scattered over the country who have been maimed for life in battle, or

whose constitutions have been undermined by the hardships of the camp. A question either has now, or shortly will arise, as to some provision for these men. Thousands of poor fellows are dragging out their lives in misery. I am afraid, when the excitement of the occasion has passed away, the wounded braves will be little cared for or thought about.

Notwithstanding that the Sanatory and United States Christian Commissions have realized at least five millions of pounds sterling, the exigencies of the war have called into existence several other benevolent institutions which required large sums of money to make them efficient for the ends in view. Among these I may notice the Coloured Freedman's Society, and the Institution for Aiding the Southern Refugees; both these societies have collected and disbursed large sums of money, and have been the means of rendering much valuable assistance to those who required their aid. There is only another country in the world whose people could have undergone the process of such a severe financial pumping, and that is England. The money collected for the relief of the immense multitude thrown out of work by the sudden cessation of the cotton supply, caused by this very war, affords evidence enough of the ready response made by the merchants and monied men of England to similar demands upon their charity.

It is pretty generally understood that mercantile men in the United States are not particularly fastidious as to the means used in making money; their object is to make it—and if it is to be made they are sure to make it. It is only right to add, that the old adage, "Come easy, go easy," may very fairly be applied to the majority of the trading community in America. Close-fistedness is a thing

almost unknown among any class of people from the highest to the lowest. I know commercial men by repute, who think no more of giving twenty or thirty thousand dollars for any benevolent purpose brought under their notice, than if the sum were as many farthings. Just before I left New York, a merchant in that city who had shortly formed the acquaintance of a young clergyman who had no church, offered to contribute forty thousand dollars to build a church in the fashionable locality of the Fifth Avenue; and I have reason to think that before this is in print, that church will be one of the architectural features of New York.

Though I have alluded to England as comparing favourably with the United States, I must say that the liberality of the monied men of America is purely Transatlantic in its character. Several instances have come under my own observation of donations that were more than royally munificent. The fact is, there are very few kings or princes who could find it convenient to give ten thousand pounds from their privy purse, either for a benevolent or any other purpose. I may remark, too, that the American people do not give their contributions for charitable purposes with that ostentation which trumpets the fame of no small number of our philanthropists at home. Before I left America, a young man with whom I am acquainted, was invited to breakfast with a New York merchant, had a small paper packet put into his hand by the host before leaving, and told to look at its contents when he went home. He thought at the time that the parcel contained some literary document upon which his opinion was required; when he examined it, however, he found Government bonds to the amount of a thousand dollars, as a small mark of the donor's esteem. The

gentleman who had charge of the New York office of the United States Christian Commission, has an income of forty thousand dollars a year, and I know it to be a fact that out of that sum he appropriates four thousand dollars annually to purely charitable purposes. I have already noticed a gentleman who is the protégé of George H. Stewart, of Philadelphia; this young man while on a mission to the Pacific seaboard of America had occasion to visit the gold-bearing district of the Nevada territory. A meeting of the rough miners was called, and though the turn-out was not a large one, the contributions in gold amounted to somewhere about 800 dollars. On the morning after the meeting, my friend met one of the miners who had heard him. Taking his hand in the warm grasp of unmistakable kindness, he said,—

"Mr. ——, that was a *bully* talk of yourn last night; while you were speaking, I felt my heart grow larger; that's the way to talk to us fellows, you didn't talk down to us like some of the preachers who are all lavender and fashionable grammar; you found the way to our hearts, and we knew it by the boiling-up of our feelings. Now," said he, "you must come and talk to us to-night—we want to hear you upon our own condition, and I know you will do us good. I will make you sure of at least 700 dollars."

My friend asked him how he could be certain of collecting such a sum? Taking him by the button-hole of his coat,— "Come with me down to the store, and I will soon satisfy you upon that head." They went to the store; the miner said to the keeper, "We want Mr. —— to give us talk to-night upon his own account, but he is afraid we cannot collect seven hundred dollars for him." The store-keeper replied, "We will soon make that all right:" he went to his till and

returned with the amount in his hand; the money was pressed upon the gentleman, but as he was in the employ of the Christian Commission, he could not do business upon his own account without committing himself; neither had he time to gratify them if he would, as arrangements had been made for a meeting in a distant locality. As a further illustration of the liberality of the American people when their feelings are excited, the same gentleman had addressed a meeting in another of the mining districts and a collection had been made, when one of the members, regretting that the collection should not have been larger, said he had given all the money he had to spare, ten dollars, but he would give Bodger. My friend had an idea that Bodger was a dog—and that was just the last thing in the world he could have any use for. While, however, he was speculating upon the nature of Bodger, the animal in question was put up to raffle, and very quickly produced a hundred dollars. Instead of a dog, Bodger turned out to be a horse, and though he was raffled I am not sure that he changed masters.

There is a set-off against this impulsive liberality. The idol of the American people to-day frequently sinks into oblivion on the morrow. The fact is, it is a difficult matter for even men of talent to sustain their popularity for any considerable time. In New York, where the upper classes are always hunting after new sensations, it is a hard task for the cleverest men among the clergy to command the popularity to which their talents entitle them. It is true there are a few men who hold commanding positions in spite of this instability. Henry Ward Becher, for example, still draws, but it must be remembered that this gentleman, like our own Spurgeon, is more of a dramatic performer than a practical

sermonizer. The same may be said of several other popular clergymen in the States who manage to keep their seats warm and their larders full, by amusing their congregations as well as instructing them.

New York is well supplied with benevolent institutions of a national character; the object of these organizations is to afford aid to destitute people who are natives of the countries represented. The Society of St. George represents England; the Caledonian, Scotland; and so on with almost every civilized nation in the world. These institutions not only relieve the wants of their distressed countrymen, but they enable numbers of people to return to their fatherland, who otherwise would not be able to do so. I believe similar institutions on a smaller scale, or branches of the larger ones, exist in most of the great towns.

CHAPTER XIII.

POLITICAL CONDITION OF THE PEOPLE.

Retrospective Glance at English Radicalism—The Author's Predilection for the Ballot cured by his American Experiences—General M'Clellan the Victim of a Political Cabal—The Liberality and Freedom of English Institutions a Reproach to American Politicians—The Constitution of the United States fails for want of Administrative Power—Votes of the Army at the last Presidential Election—Demoralizing Influence of the Presidential Elections—General Corruption of Office-seekers—Bribery at the Municipal Elections—Danger of expressing Opinion—Sacrifice of Popular Rights by the Present Administration—The Country given up to Demagogy—Probability of a future Military Despotism—Influence of Education on the Patriotism of Americans—Call for a Radical Reform in the Municipal Institutions of America—American Legislation compared with that of Great Britain—Miraculous Increase of Votes at the last Presidential Election—The Emancipation Cry only an Expedient—The Power of the English People to influence the Government more real than that of the Americans.

Between thirty and forty years ago, long before the passing of the Reform Bill in the British House of Parliament, I was imbued with those Radical principles which were promulgated by Muir, Palmer, and Skirving. Knowing that the elective franchise under the old Tory rule was a mockery, I was impressed, like thousands of others, with the idea that the ballot was the only mode in which the rights of the people could be protected against the corrupting influence of the great landed aristocracy. The Reform Bill was passed, under which a

new order of things was inaugurated, the condition of the people improved, and the prosperity of the country advanced. The elective franchise, however, still remained a vexed question. The upper classes were afraid to entrust the people with anything like a free voice empowering them to send representatives to Parliament, and as a consequence the same system of political corruption prevailed, though in a modified form. I therefore continued a warm advocate for the ballot; but since I came to see the new organization of self-government by the American people and the working of the ballot, my idea of that boasted safeguard has been thoroughly exploded. I have found that universal suffrage is not the voice of the people, and that the ballot only affords dishonest and designing men a cloak for their knavery. While I am writing, the Republican party are taking every means that money, craft, and foul misrepresentation can give them, by which to retain place and power. I do not wish my countrymen to be deceived with the idea that the political machinery of America is kept in motion by simple honest-minded patriots who are above the intrigues and petty shifts of the Old World political adventurers; the fact is, those innocents who think so were never more mistaken. The gigantic and barefaced roguery and culpable mismanagement of the national resources by men in power during the last four years, will form a melancholy page in the history of the country. Men in authority have no scruples in crushing their political rivals. It is a fact beyond dispute that General M'Clellan was victimized by a political cabal at the seat of government. I may mention that the general is a democrat in politics, but that while in the army he carefully abstained from identifying himself with any political party, much to

the annoyance of those stump orators who wished to make political capital out of his friendship. The moment it was found that he was likely to become a popular man, his fate for the time was sealed by the Washington clique.

So far as morality or political honesty is in question, I do not think there is the value of a toss-up between the leading men of the two great rival factions. And as to any power the people possess in the management of the national affairs, it is more a shadow than a substance. Since I have witnessed the working of the political system in America, my surprise that men in power should so frequently hold up England and her institutions to their countrymen with scorn and contempt has altogether vanished. The fact is, the liberal policy and wise institutions of England are a reproach to them. I have no hesitation in saying that at the present time there is no country on the face of the globe where civil and religious liberty can be enjoyed in anything like the same measure, nor is there one in which both life and property are so well protected. I am aware that if the Constitution of the United States were fairly and honestly administered, that country, with its boundless resources, would form a model State; but there is and always will be a want of administrative power, and places of trust both in the States and general government will never fail to be filled with fortune-hunters and political schemers. It may be supposed that the people possess the means of remedying these evils, and this would be true, if they could see the internal working of the State machinery and could take united action; so far from this, however, the people are frequently misled with their eyes open. It may safely be affirmed of any man who is a politician in this country, whether he

belongs to the fork-eaters or the unwashed, that he is scheming for office. I remember when the beer-barrel and the hired bludgeon were powerful instruments in returning members to the British House of Parliament, and was wont to think that in America, where the system of government was as perfect as such a human institution could be, the political vices of the Old World were only known by repute. I was never more mistaken in anything in my life.

After I had been in New York a short time, I felt a good deal interested in hearing my shopmates talking of whom they would vote for during the municipal elections, and discussing the merits of their respective candidates. It was not a little amusing to learn upon what conditions the preference for some of their favourite candidates was based; among these, *country* and *religion* were prominent. Many of these voters were single men, who neither cared about the principles of government nor the duties they imposed. I have thought to myself upon more occasions than one, while being bored with political discussions at my work, that I certainly should not like to trust either my civil or religious liberty in the keeping of such political Solons as were some of the men who surrounded me. I must confess, however, that while I have been annoyed with blustering and shallow-pated would-be patriots, I have met with numbers of highly intelligent men who possessed a just appreciation of the responsibility of the franchise.

While I am writing, a very dangerous expedient is being tried by the President and his Cabinet; they are taking means to secure the votes of the army for the presidential election. The abuse of the franchise by the Roman legions brought destruction upon the greatest empire the world ever saw, and if the American people are not careful, history may repeat itself

to their cost. I hold that the exercise of the franchise by the army of a country is incompatible with good government and the civil liberty of the people. Soldiers, whether under a monarchical or a republican form of government, cannot be said to be free agents. They live, move, and have their being under the most despotic rule short of slavery. The impulses and aspirations of men in the army are not like those of people who are following the arts of peace, and every man of experience knows how easy it is to excite bad feelings between soldiers and civilians when their sentiments or interests run counter to each other.

I have already mentioned that some of the American statesmen have applauded the short duration of the President's term of office. They argue that the return every four years of a general election schools the people in a knowledge of self-government, and keeps them alive to a sense of their own power as the fountain of all authority. I think it would not take much trouble to prove that the presidential elections are not only the cause of demoralizing the people by engendering hostile feelings among the members of the opposing factions, and corrupting them by bribery, but of paralyzing the general commerce of the country for the time being. It is true the people are amused with processions, illuminations, musical serenades, and other public demonstrations. My readers will ask if these expensive displays are paid for by the people out of their own pockets? No such thing, all such expenses are paid for by the men who are fishing for office. I have been credibly informed that no man has the most distant chance of attaining to the Presidency unless he bargain with the leaders of his party for the offices in all the governmental departments which

extend from California to the State of Maine. The patronage in the power of the Government is worth struggling for, and during presidential elections it never fails to call into energetic life the needy and ambitious, many of whom are thoroughly regardless of the means they employ to attain the ends in view. Both the contending factions continually urge the people to declare their choice of men and measures at the ballot-box. In the exercise of the franchise the people have not only to contend with divided opinion among themselves, and the social influence of aspirants to office; but the honest among them have to battle with the class of worthless men who employ their capital to destroy their liberties by bribery. If the great body of the people were imbued with anything like an ordinary sense of political honesty, the ballot-box would be useless; and in my opinion, where men are not honest it is not only useless, but is decidedly more dangerous to the liberties of the people than open voting. At one time I laughed in derision at the opponents of the ballot in the House of Commons who treated it as "un-English;" I am now of their way of thinking, and am impressed with the idea that if men in dependent positions in society were to declare their political opinions openly in a straightforward manner, few would dare to persecute them for doing their duty in accordance with their own convictions. I have met with a few men in America who admit that the ballot is to a large extent a sham, but the system suits the great majority, and they can see no wrong even in its worst forms of abuse.

I have seen a good deal of underhand influence, coercion, and small bribery at some of the municipal elections at home. Under these circumstances, however, the men standing for office were fighting for honour rather than profit—here the

matter is different. Offices, with, I believe, few exceptions, are acceptable according to the almighty dollars they will produce. I have heard it said, that a sheriff's first term of office is often a losing game, but if he is at all up to the mark his second will make him independent in any place of considerable population. As long as men make money, the sole object of their ambition, which is the case with the majority of the people in this country, I do not see how it can be otherwise in these public matters. In the moral, as in the physical world, the phenomena of infection exercise a powerful though a silent influence.

When it is considered that the people of Great Britain have gradually risen above the conditions of the feudal system in which they were subject to the lords of the soil, it is not at all strange that the wealthy classes should continue to cling to the old patriarchal power of commanding the suffrages of their dependants. During the last eighty years every extension of the social, religious, and political rights of the people has been obtained by a continued moral struggle; hence the great and prosperous condition of the nation at the present time. Unlike the British, the American people commenced their race of nationality with the most unbounded liberty both as to freedom of social action and the exercise of their religious creeds. It is true that in material wealth and in the enjoyment of many of those pleasures which wealth can give, they have progressed; but I am afraid that the Constitution which guaranteed their rights and liberties has been found too narrow for their rising ambition; at least this appears to me to be the case with many of the leading men. I believe there is no country in the world where a man can

enjoy the *liberty of thinking* to a greater extent than in America, and that so far is a blessing. But I know it is often dangerous for a person with boxed-up notions to try the experiment of letting them loose in company. A short time ago an honest, blunt-spoken Englishman, who carries on business as a merchant in San Francisco, ventured an opinion no way favourable to the stability of the rag currency, for which he was spotted through the columns of one of the local newspapers as an enemy to the Government under which he lives. My reader may readily guess at the advantages which such a notice would bring him.

In the present unhappy condition of the country, political liberty is like the handle of a jug—it is all on one side—if the people are in a mind to think and act with the Government, they will have no reason to complain of the want of liberty. But those people who presume to think and act for themselves in political matters, have just as much liberty as the Government officials think necessary to grant them. It may be said that the present condition of the country demands the line of policy which has been followed, and that the Government is the best judge as to the amount of political liberty the people should enjoy. If this argument be correct, the executive have the power to override the Constitution, and justify themselves under any circumstances. That the Constitution has been set aside by the men now in power is a fact beyond dispute. The rights of sovereign states have been invaded, and in numerous instances both the personal freedom and the property of individuals have been ruthlessly destroyed. The suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act by the chief magistrate, by which he was enabled to violate the liberty of the people, can find

no justification even in the war. Events of this kind are a standing proof that the power of the people is little better than a fiction, and that which has been done under the circumstances of yesterday may be repeated under the new conditions of to-morrow.

The war feeling in the North was the result of pride, superinduced by prosperity. The Northern States are rich in flaming demagogues and hungry, heartless adventurers, men who pander to the pride and prejudices of the people, and whose only object is to live by public plunder. A writer in the *North American Review*, comparing the Southern and Northern representatives, says:—"We doubt if the Slave States ever sent a man to the capital who could be bought, while it is notorious that from the north of Mason and Dixon's line, many an M.C. has cleared like a ship for Washington and a market." Again: "Our quadrennial change of offices which turns public service into matter of bargain and sale instead of a reward of merit and capacity, which sends men to Congress to represent private interest in sharing the plunder, without regard to any claims of statesmanship or questions of national policy, as if the ship of State were periodically captured by privateers, has hastened the downward progress in the evil way." This state of things is quite natural in a country where men are enabled to lift themselves out of humble positions into public favour without claim either to private honesty or public virtue. The great body of the people are easily imposed upon by noisy declaimers and fiery patriots,* hence the undignified character of many of

* Perhaps there was never a more vulgar and undignified exhibition seen in a meeting of men, having any pretension to respectability, than that which took place at the inauguration of Lincoln's second term of office. A. Johnson,

the Congress men and State senators who mismanage the affairs of the nation. During many years after the national barque was launched, she was manned by crews who had an honest interest in her safety, and who were above the petty shifts of plundering her stores. The men of old and honourable families are either being worn out, or are ashamed to walk the quarter-deck with officers who have not learned the rudiments of good-breeding; it is evident, too, that the older the nation grows, the scramble among public men for place and plunder will increase.

If the people cannot confide in the fidelity and loyalty of

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the Vice-President, while addressing the members of the legislature and the diplomatic corps, not only forgot what was due to himself as a man holding a high public situation, but he outraged every sense of honour and public decency in the men he was addressing. He gloried in being a plebeian, and characterized Seward, Staunton, Chase, and "*him of the navy*" (poor old Gideon Wells), as being plebeians. His whole speech was a disjointed jumble of words, and, notwithstanding the silent scorn that must have met his gaze, and the crooked looks of astonishment his appeal drew forth, he raved on to the end. Some of his more charitable friends found an apology for him in the whisky bottle, but it is asserted that his sublime plebeian oration was a deliberative production, and had been recited to several of his Tennesseeian admirers two days before the inauguration. This great farce was wound up by five thousand plebeians of all grades and colours shaking the President's right hand, the whole business of the day being conducted in sovereign mob fashion, which means that every person present gratified himself—or herself, regardless of the comfort or convenience of everybody else. The grand ball which completed the unceremonious ceremony, was a fit climax to the great national installation: men and women burlesqued the art of dancing, by contortions of their limbs and a thorough disregard for musical cadence. This plebeian gathering finished by devouring the contents of the supper-table, as if the last food in the world was before them; many of them used only those appliances which men in a state of nature have recourse to, and—and those who were too late for the first attack upon the viands, carefully cleaned the platters of those who went before them. The whole scene ended in navvy fashion by almost everything in the supper-room being converted into fragments! America is a free country—and the difference between social liberty and licentiousness seems to be fully appreciated by the people!

their chief magistrate, and the honour and honesty of legislators and men holding offices of trust, what guarantee have they for a continuance of those social and political liberties they value so dearly? In the absence of any great exciting cause, the people, if left to their reflection, would no doubt act for the public good when called upon to exercise the franchise; but it is their misfortune to be led by their feelings rather than by their judgment, and it is this which makes them liable to be imposed upon by designing politicians. That the working men in the United States should feel proud of their new-born political power is not a matter of surprise, when it is considered that the battle between national liberty and feudal despotism is yet being fought in many parts of Europe. But it should not be overlooked that wild ambition and lawless enterprise have more unrestrained freedom than in the Old World, and though it is only once in a long series of years that a Cromwell or a Napoleon can seize upon the reigns of power by which to change the destiny of a people, there are numbers of men in America who would sell the liberties of the people to-morrow, if circumstances favoured their treachery. Up to this time the franchise has been used with as much discretion by the people as could have been looked for, when we consider the means which have been employed to corrupt them. It must be remembered, however, that the stakes to be played for by political gamblers are increasing in value as the country grows in material wealth; the scramble for place and power will therefore become the more reckless, and in all likelihood the people will be victimized between the contending factions. I do not see how the people can guard those liberties the Constitution has secured them, unless a new class of public men should arise, who would value the honour and prosperity

of their country more than their own schemes of ambition, or their petty interests.

A writer in *Harper's Magazine* for January, 1855, speculating upon the then and future prospects of the United States, says, "The progress of popular influence in the history of the country is distinctly marked, and its effects are seen in nothing more strikingly than in the decline of great statesmen in Congress." One pretty good reason for the disappearance from the arena of politics of late years of men of talent and moral worth, is to be found in the fact that they will not lend themselves to the vile shifts and dishonest practices which characterize the conduct of modern place-hunters and would-be partisan leaders. I have frequently heard it said that men of the highest respectability in the United States will not allow themselves to be nominated for the presidency, because they will not submit to be dragged through the mire and corruption of a contested election. The writer above referred to expressed an idea that when the people were better educated, the government of the country would pass into the hands of a more honourable set of men. Since 1855 the American people have had the benefit of ten years' tuition in the free schools, besides the experience which that decade has furnished in the history of passing events. If education has improved the people in self-government, it is very evident that it has produced a directly opposite effect upon the manners and general conduct of their statesmen. There is no denying the fact that self-aggrandisement is the great object which inspires the patriotism of nearly all the public men, and the people are the blind instruments by which they are lifted into power. The following picture of the beauty, harmony, and pure patriotism of the American people on the eve of the

presidential election of 1864, is taken from the *New York Herald*:—"In any carefully compiled political almanack there ought to be found opposite the date of November, 1864, this announcement:—'About this time look out for roorbachs, frauds, fabrications, delusions, humbugs, and general falsehoods.' No reader of the political papers or listener to the political orators can help noticing these phenomena of the season. More startling disclosures and wonderful discoveries happen during the two weeks before election than during all the rest of the long year. This war, which should have sobered the people and merged politics in patriotism, has had precisely the opposite effect upon politicians of all parties. Never were roorbachs so tremendous, frauds so plentiful, fabrications so numerous, delusions so popular, humbugs so transparent, and falsehoods so generally circulated. Eighteen hundred and sixty-four years of Christianity do not seem to have made the world any better. Indeed, we question whether all the ancient politicians put together could equal the politicians of New York city alone in their offences against the moral law.

"If you read the democratic papers now-a-days you discover that we have won no victories, and that all the victories we have won do not amount to anything. The rebels, it appears, are pressing us upon all sides, and there is no hope for the Union except in the election of General M'Clellan. But, on the other hand, the administration papers claim that we are just on the eve of crushing the rebellion, and that the re-election of Lincoln is the only thing necessary to complete the suppression of Jeff. Davis and his gang. The Democrats complain that a conspiracy exists to cast all the soldiers' votes for Lincoln. The Republicans are just as positive that 500,000 men in buckram are banded together in the north-west, to

upset the Government and vote for M'Clellan. The Democrats say that soldiers' votes are opened, and Lincoln ballots substituted for M'Clellan tickets. The Republicans assert that vast frauds have been discovered in the army vote, and that several thousand dry-goods boxes full of fraudulent ballots for M'Clellan have been seized by the military authorities. The Democrats say that Lincoln will control the election by force, and that this is what he means when he states that he will manage his election in his own way. The Republicans declare that the Democrats, aided by secession sympathizers, intend to control the election by bloody riots, and by burning all those towns which do not give M'Clellan majorities. This is a dreadful state of things, to be sure. Whom are we to believe? What are we to believe? Are we to believe anything, or are we to take refuge in a comfortable scepticism? . . .

"When we narrow down the circle from national to local politics, we find the same phenomena upon a smaller scale. Here is a candidate who used to be an ardent peace man, now trying to get into office on a war platform. Here is an ardent war man of a few weeks ago, now bargaining and jobbing for a peace party nomination. Here is an original know-nothing, who held that foreign-born citizens had no rights which Americans were bound to respect, now claiming to be a Democrat and soliciting the foreign vote. Here is a Conservative turned abolitionist, and an abolitionist suddenly transformed into a Conservative. Here is an advocate of peace-at-any-price striving to elect himself by the soldiers' votes. Here is an individual whose price was formerly 100 dollars, now assuming the character of an incorruptible patriot. Lucifer himself must laugh at these sudden changes of character, and at the terrible amount of falsehood and fabrication involved. Nor

can he laugh less when he notices the recent astonishing increase in our voting population. In some wards there are said to be more voters, according to the registry lists, than there were residents a year or two ago. The old motto of our politicians will have to be amended. They may advise people to vote early; but as there are quite as many votes registered as can possibly be put into the ballot-boxes between sunrise and sunset next Tuesday, there will obviously be no necessity for voting often. We regard this increase of voters as one of the most remarkable of the political phenomena. It is well known that provident Nature takes care that there shall be a majority of male children born in war times, in order to supply the deficiency caused by deaths on the battle-field; but we had no idea that these children were born at a mature age, with cigars in their mouths and the regular ticket in their fists. However, wonders will never cease."

If we turn from the general government to the management of municipal affairs, we find the same recklessness of conduct, the same disregard of honour, honesty, and even common decency, among the small fry of public men who by the aid of their creatures are carried into office over the shoulders of citizens possessing both public virtue and private worth. The goddess of Liberty has many true worshippers in America, but I do not think there is any other country in the civilized world where her altars are so frequently profaned by the offerings of unprincipled adventurers, vile schemers, and political ruffians. The franchise has been withheld from the great bulk of the people in England because statesmen and legislators have agreed that they were not sufficiently educated to use it with advantage either to themselves or their country; but it must be remembered that education is only a means for

the attainment of virtue, and that it may lead its votaries in an opposite direction. There is no question about the education of the people in America. In their own estimation they sit on the highest form among the nations of the world, and yet we have seen that their Congress men have not learned the science of common civility. It is not education that is wanted among the people to enable them to manage their affairs; it is honesty—nothing more, nothing less, than simple, straightforward honesty! If I had my choice, I would rather that the people were steeped to the neck in superstition, and that their knowledge was confined to their own family traditions, rather than that their minds should be vitiated by pride and loose notions of morality.

The world is made up of a certain number of social circles, each of which is governed by a set of ideas of its own; some of these circles are national and others are local in their character. Here is a description of a political circle in the metropolis of the United States by the big bully of the American press:—

"If half we hear relative to the characters of the persons now seeking nominations for the offices of aldermen and councilmen be true, we could improve our city government by importing nine first-class burglars from Sing-Sing to fill the vacant seats in the board of aldermen, together with twenty-four common pickpockets from the same institution to act as our high and mighty board of councilmen for the next year. As it is not certain that all now seeking these nominations will obtain them, nor that, even if nominated, they will all have the impudence to run, we abstain from giving their names at present. This only must suffice: that we believe some of the very worst and most disreputable

men in our entire city—notorious baggage smashers, bounty jumpers, fighting men, shysters, pocket-book droppers, gamblers, fancy men, policy dealers, loafers, bounty swindlers, watch stuffers, and vagabonds generally—form the staple of the class from which our candidates for municipal nominations are mainly drawn. If such men can be elected, then Heaven have mercy on our tax-payers, for the Common Council will have none!

"Seriously, it is fast becoming a question with intelligent and respectable men of all parties, whether the experiment of self-government—so far, at least, as this city is concerned—has not proved a failure so gross as to call for its immediate abandonment. The decent and orderly portions of our population are fast beginning to ask themselves whether a respectable, non-partisan commission, to be appointed by the State for the government of this metropolis, might not be a decided improvement on the present system, under which we have been so long plundered and disgraced. Both boards of the Common Council would thus be deprived of all power of pillage, and we should have the additional advantage of thus ridding ourselves of that cumbrous and unconstitutional contrivance, the Board of Supervisors, in which one-half the board is proclaimed elected by the vote of a minority. With a commission of first-class men appointed—not one of them to be a professional politician or place holder—and with a thorough rooting out of all the present corrupt incumbents and encumbrances of our public offices, this wholesale and very radical plan of reform might possibly be made to commend itself to nine-tenths of our intelligent and influential citizens."

The word "policy" made use of in the above paragraph

may not be understood by my readers; this term simply means a lottery. In the States there are numbers of men who live by keeping policy offices. I know there is one man who conducts a business of this kind who holds the honourable position of a member of Congress; how many more there may be in the great council of the nation, I cannot say. It is one of the inestimable advantages of the free institutions of America that a man is not degraded by his vocation. Although the lottery business is one of unmitigated knavery, if the operator is successful in fleecing the members of the green family, he takes his position in the ranks of the aristocracy as naturally as a young goose takes to swimming.

The people of Great Britain have been occasionally annoyed by the exclusive legislation of the aristocracy. The imposition of the Corn-laws was a one-sided act, which prevented the people from purchasing food in the cheapest market. Selfishness, however, is not peculiar to any class of human beings, and in a democracy it is not difficult, for the people can forget the duties they owe to each other in their business transactions. In the New England, and three of the Middle States, there may be somewhere about three millions of people interested in manufactures. Outside of these States, before the breaking out of the war, there were at least twenty-eight millions whose only interest in manufactured articles was that of being consumers and dealers. If the three millions of Yankees in the east had passed a law to prohibit the corn-growers in the west from sending their surplus-produce to a foreign market, I dare say it would have been looked upon as a gross act of legislative tyranny. They certainly did not commit such a glaring outrage as this; but the difference between what they actually did, and what they did

not, was something like the difference between tweedledum and tweedledee. These patriots, in order to hedge their manufacturing interest round with special privileges, obtained an Act, by which all goods of foreign manufacture imported into the country should be subject to a heavy impost. This Act informed the members of the great agricultural communities in the South and Western States, that they were at liberty to sell the produce of their industry where they liked, but if they required manufactured articles they must purchase those of a domestic make. Reciprocity in trade may not form a condition in Republican political economy. In this instance we see the selfish legislation of one-tenth of the people under the hypocritical plea of patriotism impose a dishonest tax upon the other nine-tenths. This tariff is not only morally bad, but it is bad in policy, and ignores that liberty of action of which the Americans make such an everlasting boast. It is bad morally, because it operates unjustly upon the great mass of the people, and prevents a free interchange of the produce of their industry, with the inhabitants of other countries. The man who does not believe in free trade possesses very narrow notions of the operations of unshackled commerce; but the fact is, there is no such a man, if we except those people who wish to maintain their selfish interests at the expense of their neighbours. If the different States in the Union should continue intact for any considerable length of time, there is almost certain to be a clashing of interests between the commercial and the agricultural communities. Indeed it is hardly necessary for me to remark that the grasping policy of the North was one of the main causes of the Southern secession. The people are easily hoodwinked in political matters. Give them plenty

of employment and cheap food, and they will not trouble themselves much about the conduct of their legislators—"The present moment is their aim; the neist they never saw." It is a curious matter for reflection to see the Old World nations striking the chains of bondage from commerce, while the nation which boasts of being the only one really free in the world, is only beginning to forge the chains wherewith to bind the limbs of Mercury!

The Republican party, after the re-election of Mr. Lincoln, claimed a decided triumph for his war policy. No body of men ever made a greater mistake. The working men, the manufacturers, and the great body of the trading-classes, voted for Lincoln from a feeling of mere selfishness. They knew that by displacing him they would upset the whole business of the country, as a new order of things would be the necessary consequence of the election of a new chief magistrate. There are some curious facts which tend to show how this dreaded result was avoided. Two millions of men were put in the field during the war, nearly one million and a quarter of these were *hors de combat* at the period of the election: some killed, some wounded, and some sick. "Yet, strange to say," observes a writer in the *Herald*, "there was a larger vote polled at the last election than in 1860, showing that the increase of the able-bodied population by emigration and the natural laws keep pace with the requirements of the country. We do not miss the drain upon our population even in this terrible war. More than four millions and a half of men voted at the late election." It may be doubted whether this was meant seriously; perhaps the statement was meant satirically; for it must be evident to the plainest capacity that the number of men holding the franchise in

1864, must have been at least one million less than in 1861. In the first place, the men killed off by war must be deducted; and in the second, it is well known that a majority of the volunteers found it convenient to take the bounty in any State rather than their own. Making these allowances, and adding the increase of population by natural laws, and by emigration, it is easy to show that neither of these sources could have added a single vote to the ticket of either candidate. In the three years, from 1861 to 1863 inclusive, 392,487 men, women, and children landed in the United States. If these had all been male adults, not one of them could have exercised the right of a citizen during the late election; and even supposing that the whole of them could have voted, they could not have made up the deficiency of the men absorbed in the army and navy. Besides this, it is estimated that at least 500,000 of the loyal and patriotic free citizens found it convenient to find their way into Canada, in order to avoid being drafted into the army during the last three years. It must be remembered, too, that every citizen who took the bounty as a volunteer in a State where he was not entitled to exercise the franchise, disqualified himself from using his right of voting during his term of service. Is it asked, then, by what means the number of voters had increased, while the free citizens had so largely decreased? The answer is plain. The necessary number of votes to insure Mr. Lincoln's return were made to order, and the talk about natural laws of increase, and the influx of emigrants, was all pretence.

Moreover, I have heard from reliable sources that one house alone in New York advanced 100,000 dollars with which to purchase the votes of the patriots who really were

extant; and if one house could afford 20,000*l.*, the amount subscribed by the host of commercial men interested in the Lincoln administration must have been great indeed. In a conversation with a gentleman upon the subject of the election, he stated that in the district in which he resided, the Lincoln voters were marched off to the poll at the small sum of one dollar per head, which sum, if reduced to English money, would be worth somewhere about 1*s.* 10*d.* sterling. The porter (or in the polite phraseology of my trade the "buggerlugger") in the establishment in which I was employed, must either have belonged to a superior class, or resided among a more liberal set of whippers-in, inasmuch as he was offered the tempting bribe of two dollars to vote for Lincoln. The end will no doubt justify the means, otherwise the highly moral and religious Republicans could never have condescended to debauch the honest and truly loyal citizens with their villanous greenbacks. Voting for a dollar ahead is almost as bad as some of the old pocket-borough freemen in England before the passing of the Reform Bill, disposing of their votes for a "belly-full of burst!" From the experience I have had, I am satisfied that purity of election is a thing yet to be attained in Republican America, and that the ballot is only really useful in enabling dishonest men to hide their double dealing.

The first term of Mr. Lincoln's administration furnished the world with a sickly demonstration of the facility with which the social and political liberties of a free people may be outraged, and how the chief magistrate of a great nation is able to override the laws, and set aside the Constitution of his country, when it may suit his pleasure or convenience. The seizure of the persons of the members of the Maryland

legislature was the first act in the drama, and was a fit precursor to the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, by which the sovereign rights of the people of the Free States were invaded. Next on the roster was the suspension of the heterodox newspapers, the seizure of the persons of their managers, and the confiscation of their property. Then followed the inauguration of a vile system of espionage, by which the most worthless beings ever fashioned into human form were let loose upon society, and through whose instrumentality the bastilles of the country were filled with people suspected of having Southern sympathies.

I do not think it would have mattered much to the people in the South which of the two rival factions held the reins of power at the commencement of the war. The magnitude of the stakes involved in a separation was of too much consequence to allow a quiet dissolution of the national copartnery. Both the pride and interest of the people were involved in the matter. In the outset, the slave question had really nothing to do with the quarrel, and it was not until the North had virtually declared its incapacity to subdue their enemy that the black man was brought upon the stage. The emancipation trick was decidedly a political necessity, and as a moral juggle it pandered to the feelings of the European philanthropists, and fanned the flame of abolition patriotism at home. The war suited the people in the North; they cared little or nothing about either slaves or slavery; but as the Government patronage called into existence a vast amount of labour, and flooded the country with paper money, it came to them as a blessing. The depreciation of the currency, the enhanced value of all the necessaries of life, and the general system of taxation which

has been imposed to keep the national barque afloat, has opened, and will continue to open, their eyes to a true sense of their position. You may play with the honour of a people with impunity as long as their stomachs are not affected. Under any circumstances the people in the United States have very little power over the management of the national affairs.

Suppose that a law was about being passed in Congress inimical to the interests of the people: I say they have no means of bringing public opinion to bear either upon the Government or their legislators, as we should speedily do in England, were our rights or liberties in danger. It is true if any great commercial interest is likely to be invaded, for instance, by a whisky bill tax, a railway company arrangement, or any other commercial monopoly, wire-pullers are sent to the lobby of the House in Washington to operate upon members with an "itching palm." It will scarcely be credited, but it is a fact, that many of the first men in the United States have been engaged in the business of wire-pulling, which simply means that they have been paid to bribe the legislators to lend their aid to schemes of public robbery or personal aggrandisement. When the British people learn that some Act is being introduced in Parliament which they conceive opposed to their interest, their remonstrance against the measure is forwarded to the House in waggon-loads of petitions. The right of petition in Great Britain is one of the bulwarks of the people's liberty, and even when they fail in obtaining what their petitions demand, their acknowledged right to grumble is a solace to them which they seem to enjoy. The fact is, grumbling to the family of Mr. Bull produces much the same effect as a

copious flow of tears to a woman in grief. I do not mean to assert that of my own knowledge there is not a man in the British House of Parliament who could be suborned, but I hold it to be indisputable that if such men exist they are "few and far between."

It is a foregone conclusion in the minds of a large number of the American people, that the members of the British House of Commons are all aristocrats, and, of course, opposed to the social progress of the people. Under the old Tory rule sixty years ago, this assumption would have been pretty nearly justified by the then condition of parliamentary representation. During the last thirty years a new order of things has been inaugurated; men from the ranks of the people have followed each other in quick succession, many of whom have exercised no small influence in the great council hall of the nation. Sir Robert Peel's father was a cotton manufacturer, and I believe his grandfather was a working-man. Few statesmen of the nineteenth century will hold a more honourable position in the pages of their country's history than the late Sir Robert. By the abrogation of the corn-laws, and striking the shackles from the limbs of commerce, he not only reduced the price of food, but he enlarged the field of human labour in all the various branches of the national industry. The woolsack in the House of Lords has been occupied by men of plebeian origin during the whole of my time; and the blood of the aristocracy has been kept in a healthy condition by a constant infusion from the great arterial veins of the people. Since the time Cobbett lashed the Plunket family under the appellation of the young Hannibals for living upon the spoils of the nation, I could point to scores of men who have risen from the ranks

of the people to seats in the House. It is only in a free nation where two tribunes of the people could exercise such an extraordinary influence over public opinion, both at home and abroad, as Richard Cobden and his friend John Bright have done during the last twenty years.*

In England, the question of the extension of the franchise is one of serious importance, and to none more so than to the working classes themselves. I can form some small idea of the anarchy and confusion which would have existed in Great Britain in 1837, if the people had had the power of returning the men of their choice to the House of Commons. The interests of the working men, so far as their representatives were concerned, would have been in the hands of such men as Fergus O'Connor, Bronterre O'Brien, Julian Harney, Dr. McDugall, Dr. Taylor, the un-Rev. Mr. Stevens, and a number of others of the same class whose names have slipped from my memory. Had all or any of these men been elected, the Government then in being would have immediately closed their patriotic jaws by trifling bribes, unless we make an exception in favour of the disinterested folly of Mr. O'Connor. After the passing of the Catholic Emancipation Bill in 1829, the Irish people flattered themselves that their representatives in the British legislature would inaugurate a new order of things, when all their grievances would be remedied. The people were mistaken in their men. Instead of patriots, they returned a pack of place-hunters to the House, and those who could not obtain situations under the Government did everything in their power to impede the business of

* It was not until some time after writing the above, that I learned the sad loss the nation had sustained in the death of Mr. Cobden. I admired him while living, and revere his memory now that he is dead.

Parliament. Among those who obtained a Government appointment, Richard Lalor Sheil was, I should say, the most worthy, his greatest sin being that he was too poor to serve his country as a mere member of Parliament. I wish it to be borne in mind that I find no fault with the Irish members of Parliament for accepting office in the service of their country; but many of the men in question were returned for their professions of bitter hostility to the Government under whom they took office.

There are two classes of men in all representative communities, who but too frequently become scapegoats for the indiscretion of the people. First, there are such as possess more talent and intelligence than either private or public virtue; secondly, there are those whose only recommendation is their barefaced effrontery. Both these classes of men readily manage to work on the feelings of the people—the former by their admitted talents, the latter by their foul-mouthed invective, and a semblance of virtuous anger against the men they are pleased to designate the enemies of the people and drags upon the social progress of the nation. From the nature of the system of popular representation in the United States, it is a difficult matter for the people, who are generally confiding in the men who profess to be their friends, to steer clear of the hordes of mercenary brawlers who solicit their suffrages. From what has been advanced in these pages, it will be pretty evident that there are numbers of men in the highest councils of the nation with whom neither Mr. Bright nor Mr. Cobden, were he living, with all their forbearance, would care to associate.

CHAPTER XIV.

COMMISSIONERS OF EMIGRATION—CASTLE GARDEN, NEW YORK.

The Unprotected and Destitute Condition of Emigrants arriving in America previous to the Establishment of the Commission—Infamous Character of the Harpies in Liverpool and New York—Disgraceful Character of the British Emigrant Ships at that Period—Reformed Arrangements caused by the Operations of the Commission—Statistics of Emigration from the United Kingdom and from Ireland and Germany—Landing of Emigrants at Castle Garden—Measures taken to protect them from Imposition and forward them to their Destination—Protection of Young Girls—Emigrant Refuge and Hospital—Money forwarded through the Emigration Depôt by Irish Immigrants—Money carried into America by Immigrants—Early Struggles of the Commissioners of Emigration against the Violence directed against them—Immense Utility of their Organization—Number of Immigrants in 1864.

On entering the port of New York, the longing gaze of the passenger rests on a large wooden erection somewhat like a rotunda or temporary circus. This unprepossessing place bears the imposing title of "Castle Garden," and here all emigrants first step on shore. While passing through the barriers of this place, the stranger unacquainted with the facts would form but a poor idea of its real importance, as the locale of a national institution under the control and management of the Commissioners of Emigration.

Previous to 1847, the emigrants who landed at New York

were put ashore wherever the vessel in which they came was berthed. When it is known that the space occupied by the shipping in the port extends over twenty miles, some idea of the trouble and inconvenience the emigrants must have suffered from such an arrangement may be formed. The discomforts, however, arising from being landed in out-of-the-way places were of small account compared with others of a more serious nature to which they were exposed. Those among them who had escaped being victimized by the heartless but thriving harpies in Liverpool were almost certain to be robbed by the same class of scoundrels in New York. Whichever way the emigrant turned his face after landing, he was sure to be surrounded with a network of villany and deception. Before leaving the vessel the boarding-house runners seized his luggage, by force if necessary, and dragged him off to their infamous dens. These fellows were a lawless race in whom every feeling of honour and honesty was dead, and the boarding-house keepers themselves were no better. In their report for the year 1848, the commissioners remark they "have abundant evidence that many of the emigrant boarding-house keepers are as unscrupulous as the runners, in the advice they give to emigrants regarding the routes to the interior and other matters connected with their sojourn in the city, and more particularly, they make it their business to prevent emigrants from asking and obtaining advice and counsel of those who would honestly give it." In consequence of the way in which many of the emigrants were robbed either by the runners or boarding-house keepers, instead of pursuing their journey to the interior of the country as they intended, they were obliged to remain in New York, where they had to battle for a living in an overstocked labour-market.

Previous to 1847, there was really little or no protection afforded to the emigrants during their passage, and when they landed numbers of them were in the most wretched condition from disease contracted on board of ship by ill-usage, want of ventilation, bad food, scarcity of water, and want of medical treatment. In many of the vessels the emigrants were treated by heartless captains and ruffianly crews as if they were so many hogs. In the report by the commissioners for 1851, they say,—"on reference to the statistics of the Quarantine Hospital, that in 1842, one hundred and twenty sick emigrants were taken from the *Eutaw*. In 1837, 158 from the *Ann Hall;* and as early as 1802, 188 from the *Flora*, 220 from the *Nancy*, and 259 from the *Penelope*. The fearful condition of the passengers aboard of these vessels may be imagined, but no pen could be handled to describe it. This state of things has happily been provided against by stringent Acts of the legislatures both in Great Britain and the State of New York, which were passed in 1848.

In 1863, the commissioners report, that in November of that year the ship *Cynosure*, sailing under the British flag, arrived in this port from Liverpool after a passage of forty-two days. She left Liverpool with five hundred and sixty-five passengers, of whom three died during the passage, and after arrival at quarantine, from ship fever and small-pox, twenty-three; and thirteen cases of small-pox, and seventy-one of typhus fever and suffering from exhaustion and debility, were transferred to the respective hospitals. An examination into the treatment of the passengers having shown that the regulations required for protecting the passengers had not been adhered to, the necessary steps were taken against the vessel,

by demanding special bonds for all the passengers, thus compelling the consignees to assume all the expenses incurred and to be incurred. This was the right way to bring the owners of the vessel to a sense of their duty in the future management of their ships.

There is one statement of the Commissioners of Emigration which should not be lost sight of by the owners and masters of British ships, which is to the effect that the vessels from Hamburg and Bremen are in a much more comfortable condition, and their passengers better treated, than in the ships belonging to Great Britain. The conduct of many of the British passenger shipowners has been highly reprehensible in the appointment of medical officers. In many instances the men who were deputed to watch over the health of poor emigrants may be divided into two classes: the first of these are men who have lost their moral status, and the second are uncertificated surgeons, or men without either education or experience.

Up to a late date the municipal authorities in Liverpool evinced an almost total want of sympathy for the numerous people who embarked there for the purpose of seeking a market for their labour in foreign lands, which they could not find in their own. During the last twenty-five years the numerous robberies and barefaced frauds which were being committed, in some measure shamed them into action, but their tardy movement in the matter has only provided against some of the more glaring evils. The millions of people during the present century who have passed through the port of Liverpool have contributed in no small degree to make her what she is, and if her authorities had no innate sense of duty in protecting and aiding the poor emigrants, a feeling of self-

interest should have prompted them to a different line of conduct. I can remember the time when dissipated fellows with their business offices in the crowns of their greasy hats, were wont to swindle the unsuspecting emigrants, when dishonest storekeepers' touters waylaid the strangers, and genteel blackguards with fictitious title-deeds of land in highly favourable situations, robbed their too confiding victims, and when all these sources of deception were abetted by the advertising bills of fare of the emigrant vessels, which set forth in glowing terms the comforts and home conveniences provided for the passengers, and by way of a finishing touch to the romance, spoke of the amiable and qualified medical men appointed to watch over their health while aboard: much of this has been altered. Emigrants cannot now be packed away in the holds of ships like so many hogs in a railway truck, but the want of humane and kindly treatment aboard of many of the British emigrant vessels is yet a thing to be looked for in the good time coming.

Intending emigrants to the United States are not unfrequently imposed upon by dishonest men who are in the habit of selling inland passage tickets, which are either worthless or greatly overcharged. The President of Commissioners of Emigration, in writing to Mr. Marcy, Secretary of State in Washington in 1857, remarks,—"The chief operators in this system of fraud have not only opened offices in the several seaports where emigrants to this country embark, but they have also established agencies in towns in the interior of those countries, and in the very villages whence families are likely to emigrate. The more remote the place where the emigrant is induced to purchase a ticket for inland transportation in this country, the greater the opportunity for

imposition and fraud, and this is seldom suffered to pass unused. The efforts made by our Government heretofore for protecting emigrants from such frauds abroad have hitherto had little effect on the European governments, with the exception only of Hamburg and Bremen. Not only is the privilege of booking passengers for distant inland points in the United States continued, but in some places it has been aided (it is hoped not intentionally) by means of Government licence, giving an official character to the business, well calculated to mislead the ignorant. These are grossly overcharged for real tickets, or as often imposed upon by fraudulent ones; after which they are consigned to continued depredations by other confederates in this city and elsewhere." The following paragraph is worthy the attention of the authorities in England. The writer goes on to say: "These are facts of daily occurrence, which our official position brings constantly to our notice, but seldom enables us to arrest or remedy. There is a marked contrast in passengers coming by way of Hamburg and Bremen, and those of other European ports. It rarely occurs that passengers from either Hamburg or Bremen are unable, on their arrival here, to pay their way to their destination in the interior, or to secure all proper comforts and conveniences by the way. Very many of those from other ports are first defrauded of their means by being induced to purchase tickets for railway and water travel in this country at high prices, which, when presented here, are found to be either quite worthless, or to carry the holders only to some point in the interior, far short of their destination, where they are left destitute."

Did I not know that these heartless frauds have long been practised upon emigrants in England, I should have set the

above statement down as a malicious fabrication, but to the shame and disgrace of my country I am obliged to admit its painful truth. There are other matters connected with the British system of emigration of which the Commissioners of Emigration in New York have just cause to complain. Of late years several cargoes of poor, miserable creatures have been shipped from certain localities in order to relieve parochial establishments. Among this class of emigrants, imbeciles and even idiots have not been uncommon. The American people cannot prevent their country being a place of refuge for the self-expatriated rogues and rascals of all the nations of the Old World; but that is certainly no reason why they should have our paupers forced upon them.

The reports of the Commissioners of Emigration furnish many curious and interesting facts connected with the fitful exodus of the labouring classes of Ireland and the German States from 1847 up to 1860. The following statistical statement will give the reader an idea of the manner in which emigration has fluctuated during the above period in the countries I have named. In the year 1847, the number of emigrants from Ireland who landed at New York was 52,946. From this time to 1851 the number increased upon a graduated scale, until it swelled to 163,306. From this date to 1860, a regular decline in Irish emigration set in, 47,330 being the set-off against the return of 1847. From 1847 to 1852, the Irish nation passed through one of the severest ordeals of privation, disease, and suffering recorded in the history of the world. In 1846 the food upon which the labouring population chiefly depended for sustenance by some unaccountable fatality was nearly all rendered useless by a mysterious disease; hence the extraordinary flight of such

vast numbers of the people. During the fourteen years over which this report extends, 1,107,043 human beings left the land of their birth and the homes of their fathers to seek a living in the New World among strangers. The emigrants from Germany stand next in numerical order on the statistical tables of the commissioners. There is a curious similarity in the flow and ebb tides of the emigration of these two peoples. In 1847, 53,180 of the Teutonic race landed in New York, and this number also increased gradually until 1854, when it amounted to 176,986, and in 1860 subsided to 37,899; the total number during the fourteen years being 979,575. The most remarkable feature in the emigration of these two races is the similarity of their numbers, increasing and decreasing with such regularity during the same periods of time. The great emigration of the Irish people is sufficiently accounted for by the miserable condition entailed upon the nation by the failures of the potato crops through a series of years; the Germans have had no such cause for their swarming off that I am aware of; probably the tide of their emigration has set in more for the sake of the political and social liberty, which the United States afforded them, than from the pressure of want, as was the case with the Irish.

In looking over the statistical tables, I find that the emigration from England has been acted upon, though in a lesser degree, by much the same sort of influence as that which regulated the exodus from Ireland and Fatherland. In 1847, 8,864 Englishmen tried their fortunes under the Stars and Stripes—this number, too, gradually increased to 31,551 in 1852, and again decreased to 11,361 in 1860. In 1847 Scotland sent out 2,354 of her enterprising natives, like those of Ireland and England. The greatest number of her emi-

grants to America was in 1852, being 7,694, which in 1860 had decreased to 1,617. The total number of emigrants who left England for the United States from 1847 to 1860 was 315,622, while Scotland only furnished 71,535. The total number of immigrants furnished by all the nations of the Old World amounts to 2,671,819, of which amount Great Britain, Ireland, and Germany have contributed 2,463,769. The greatest number from all parts landed in America was 300,992 in 1852, and the smallest in 1858, being only 78,589. The smallest number of emigrants from Ireland during the seventeen years of the existence of the Commissioners of Emigration was 25,784 in 1861; the number from Germany during the same period was 27,139. In 1862 the Irish exodus again takes a start, the number for that year being 32,217, which increases in the following year to 92,157, being 30,700 more than Germany sent in 1862 and 1863. It is somewhat curious that in 1861 the English emigration had dwindled down to 5,632, but in 1863 some strange impulse sent 18,757 to hobnob with Brother Jonathan in the middle of the greatest domestic quarrel the world ever witnessed.

Since the commencement of 1864, the emigration from Ireland has been much greater than at any previous period. During the last five or six years the emigrants from Ireland, so far as their social and pecuniary condition are in question, have been of a greatly improved character, and as a consequence they have given the Commissioners of Emigration much less trouble than previously. During the last eighteen months, the majority of the Irish immigrants were young able-bodied men; many of these have either entered the army of their free-will, or been kidnapped by a class of men who watch the arrival of vessels for that purpose. The Commissioners

of Emigration have wisely set their faces against identifying themselves with the recruiting business, and though much influence has been brought to bear upon them to allow a recruiting office to be established in connection with the landing buildings, their determination has not been altered. Had they acceded to such a proposition they would unquestionably have endangered the efficiency of the institution, and laid themselves open to suspicions of a serious character.

The tide of emigration which set in with the beginning of 1864, from Ireland to the United States, has both puzzled and astonished all who have paid any attention to the subject. So far as my own experience goes, I have no hesitation in saying that the social condition of the people in Ireland is greatly improved since the commencement of the present century, and that their moral status is on the whole decidedly higher than it was during the time O'Connell was fighting the battles of religious liberty, before he carried the Emancipation Act in 1829. Of late years there has been a growing spirit of discontent among the people; the emancipation, though it opened the portals of the House of Commons to the Catholic gentry, was really of no service to the general community. The fact is, the Act was obtained at the expense of a great political sacrifice on the part of the people. Through O'Connell, they bartered away the forty shillings' franchise for what to them was, and is, the mere shadow of religious liberty. These things, together with the potato blight, have no doubt operated upon the minds of the people, and caused them to turn their thoughts to the New World, where social, religious, and political liberty are secured to the Celt as well as the Saxon.

It would be impossible to do anything like justice to the

Institution of Emigrants in New York in the short sketch I am writing, but it will be useful to bring before the public a few of the leading features of the establishment. Every man, woman, and child who comes to New York in the character of an emigrant must pass through the office of the Commissioners of Emigration in Castle Garden. Before the passengers of an emigrant ship leave her, their luggage is taken charge of by officers of the institution, for which numbered metal tokens are given. Both the passengers and luggage are then landed by the aid of a steam-tug, belonging to the commissioners. After this the passengers pass through the landing-office in front of a series of desks, where their names, age, profession, country, the name of the vessel they arrived in, their destination, and the names of such friends or relations to whom they are going (if they have any) are booked. They are then forwarded to boarding-houses, which are licensed by the municipal authorities, and under the direct patronage of the commissioners. The custom of these houses is made to depend upon the manner in which their keepers conduct their business ; they are not only required to treat the emigrants fairly in their charges, but they are held accountable for such property as may be entrusted to them by the lodgers. The luggage left in the Garden can be called for when it suits the convenience of the owners, and whether removed soon or late there is no charge made. If an emigrant intends to remain in New York, and his luggage is such as he cannot carry away, it will be forwarded to his address at a much lower rate than he could have it done by engaging a conveyance himself.

Those emigrants who are going to the interior of the country are forwarded by the commissioners in their own

steamers either to the railway stations, or the vessels by which they are to travel, and in order to prevent their being imposed upon, they are supplied with tickets which will free them to their destination, in whatever part of the States that may be. When the emigrants leave New York for a distant part of the country, the commissioners do not lose sight of them, but by means of their agents in many of the distant towns, provide asylums for the indigent, and employment for the able-bodied. The class of emigrants who are without the means of transporting themselves to the interior of the country have loans granted upon such luggage as they may possess, which they can redeem when in employment, and no interest is charged for the money. The commissioners are also agents for employers over the whole of the States, so that they are enabled to find situations for emigrants in almost any of the branches of industry. Their employment office at the landing building is a highly valuable institution. By means of this office, numbers of young girls are saved from moral shipwreck.

While in conversation with Mr. Casserly, the head manager of the institution, I had the means of learning the numerous snares to which many of the emigrants were exposed, but more particularly the class of unprotected females. These girls when left to shift for themselves are continually beset by a vile horde of sailors, boarding-house agents, and caterers for dens of an even more disreputable character. As a general rule the sailors' boarding-houses in New York are sad sinks of iniquity. When a decent girl once finds her way into one of these places, she runs a great chance of being ruined for life. The commissioners, with a humane and praiseworthy vigilance, have used every effort to

protect young women who have passed through their institution from the kidnappers who are continually upon the look-out for them. They have also been the means of checking the godless traffic of a set of agents who made a business of engaging good-looking females in the German States for genteel and lucrative situations in New York, but whose real occupation was to minister to the depraved passions of men who frequent houses as shameless as they ought to be nameless.

One of the most valuable appliances connected with the institution is the large, well-ventilated and isolated "State Emigrant Refuge and Hospital." The commissioners have had this establishment erected for the reception of the numerous class of passengers who contract disease on board of ship, whether of an ordinary character or otherwise. This hospital is situated on Ward's Island in the East River; it is the only building on the island, if the dwellings of the servants to the establishments are excepted. The following extracts taken from the annual report of Mr. Ford, physician-in-chief of the establishment, for 1863, will give the reader an idea of the great importance of this part of the institution:—"There were treated, in the hospital, during the year, 3,713 patients; of these 2,895 were discharged, 319 died, 499 remaining on the 1st of January, 1864. In the refuge or dispensary department, 2,300 cases were treated; 55 died, principally infants under one year old. Total in the refuge and hospital, 6,013. 248 women gave birth to 255 children; 24 were still-born, and there were 7 cases of twins—118 females and 113 males. Total born alive, 231. 123 insane patients were treated, 34 discharged well or improved, 11 transferred to Blackwell's Island, the time chargeable to your commission being expired, 9 sent to other wards for treatment for other

diseases, and 6 died from the following causes: typhus 2, dysentery 1, pneumotyphus 1, phthisis and epilepsy 1. Remaining in the asylum, 63."

The following figures will show the relative social condition of the emigrants from the countries named. The number from Ireland in 1863 was 92,157, 35,002 from Germany, 18,757 from England, and 10,928 from all other countries. During this year 2,026 Irish emigrants were admitted patients of the hospital on Ward's Island. The German patients numbered 700, and the English 111; 190 of the Irish died in the hospital, while of the German and English only 81 died. It will thus be seen that a much larger proportion of the Irish emigrants have become inmates of the hospital than of the Germans or the English combined. We see by this scale that the condition of the English immigrants in a social point of view has been superior to that of the Germans, and that the Germans must have been in a much more comfortable condition than the Irish. When it is known that a considerable number of the poor Irish emigrants go on board of ship without any of those necessary articles of food which are both valuable for their health and comfort while at sea, and that as a consequence they are obliged to feed upon the ship allowance, there can be no wonder that their health should suffer. Many of this class of people when they land in New York are in the most miserable condition. They are destitute of means and broken down in constitution, and were it not for the Emigrants' Institution they would find themselves among strangers with none to care for them or aid them in their distress. It may be here noted that the emigrants have a claim to the benefits of the hospital for a period of five years after their arrival in the country.

I may mention that many of the emigrants, after having been in the country a short time, suffer greatly from a change of food; a considerable portion of the daily fare of the people in the States is made up of those articles which are considered luxuries in Great Britain and Ireland, but more particularly in the latter country, where the food of the working classes is of the most homely nature. The consequence of this change is very frequently a derangement of the functions of the stomach and bowels; dysentery, too, often ensues, and when relieved of that they are liable to be annoyed by attacks of dyspepsia. I have no doubt but the climate as well as the food has an influence in producing these disorders, but whether they result from the one or the other, the emigrants will find temperate habits a valuable safeguard. In the summer season the too free use of the various fruits common in the country is decidedly dangerous, and these are just the things strangers are most likely to indulge in. The intemperate use of food, combined with change of climate, sends numbers of emigrants to the hospital, where they are well treated, until renewed health enables them to prosecute their journey of life.

I have had no means of ascertaining the amount of money which has been forwarded by Irish residents in the United States, to enable their friends or relations to come out to them. The following statement from the report of Mr. Casserly, the manager at Castle Garden, will show the sum which has passed through the hands of the commissioners in 1863:—"As an evidence of the continued confidence in the operations of the emigrant depôt on the part of the friends of emigrants and the emigrants themselves—the parties most benefited by its establishment and most interested in its continuance—I would

state that the amount of moneys received at this office and the office of the Irish Emigrant Society during the year, to be applied to the forwarding of emigrants to various parts of the United States, was 68,104 dols. 53 cents, against 24,908 dols. 11 cents in the previous year." This amount, though large, Mr. Casserly says, does not exceed one-tenth of the money actually spent by emigrants for their transportation during the year.

About five years ago the Commissioners of Emigration made an attempt to learn the amount of money brought into the country by each emigrant; but as many of the emigrants refused to give the information, they were obliged to give up the task as a hopeless one. So far as they had proceeded, they were enabled to come to the conclusion that, upon an average, each emigrant brought twenty pounds British money into the country. I need not say how much this money, in connection with the skilled and unskilled labour of the emigrants, was calculated to enrich the land of their adoption; the commissioners, however, are aware of the importance of the matter, and have drawn the attention of the public to the fact in one of their annual reports.

It may be asked from whence the Commissioners of Emigration receive the vast sums of money necessary to carry on such a large establishment? The plan adopted by the commissioners is a very wise and equitable one. Every emigrant brought to the country pays along with, and included in, his passage-money, two dollars, which is paid by the shipowners to the commissioners in New York, in the character of commutation money. By this means the emigrants are made to contribute to a fund for their own special advantage, and those among them who would otherwise find themselves in a state

of destitution from the want of money, or disabled by disease, receive the benefits of the institution as a right, thereby saving themselves from the stigma of pauperism. In 1863, the commutation fund realized by the commissioners amounted to 341,927 dollars.

The expenses of the commissioners vary considerably, owing both to the social status of the emigrants, and the character of the seasons. A few years ago the whole of the emigrants were brought out in sailing vessels; during the last two years, however, a considerable revolution has taken place in the transport of passengers. In 1856, 5,000 passengers were brought from Europe in steam-ships; in 1863, the number had swelled to 70,000, showing, as Mr. Casserly remarks in his report already cited, "that emigrants are each year appreciating the superior advantages of steam, not only as regards health and the saving of time, as well as safety; and also demonstrating the fact that, since the application of steam to their transportation, the emigrants have been of a more comfortable and well-to-do class than in the former years of the commission, as the price of passage in steamers is nearly double that in sailing vessels." Referring to the ships which offer the greatest advantages to emigrants, he says, the "Dale" or "Inman" line, sailing from Liverpool and Queenstown, with its fleet of eleven steamers, transported to this port over 30,000 emigrant passengers. And he adds, "The excellent management of this line is evidenced not only by its popularity, requiring, as it does, in addition to its regular weekly line, a semi-monthly one, but also by its remarkable immunity from danger or disaster, its vessels having made, during the year, seventy-two trips, landing at this port 33,000 passengers without accident."

It would be well if all the poor emigrants who make their way to this country could avail themselves of the comforts, speed, and convenience which steam-vessels offer over sailing ships. The man who has once travelled between Europe and America in the fetid hold of an emigrant-ship, has learned a lesson which his memory is likely to retain. I have yet before my mind's eye the dead calm, with its consequent lazy indifference and anxieties, the evenings with their immoralities, low intrigues, and strange demonstrations of natural temper, and the storm with its prayers and reckless profanity, in which the fair-weather bully becomes blanched with fear, while the seemingly timid assume a quiet magnanimity of character. How certain classes among the passengers pilfer from their neighbours, how the good-natured and the simple are imposed upon, and how the weak and the retiring are sent to the wall. Yes, and I remember, too, how some of the wily sailors fawned about the well-to-do passengers, in order to draw from their stores of creature comforts, and how rudely they treated the poor devils who had to live upon the ship's fare; and how the ebony cook attended to the passengers who had tipped him with the magic blarney of the Queen's coin; and how the penniless had to hang on for their meals in hungry anxiety to the last, with kicks and curses for their consolation. *How a feeble-minded creature, in the character of a medical man, crept down below once a day, and how quickly he retraced his steps to the free air above.* Then the colony of squalling children, with scolding unreasoning mothers, flirting gawky girls, who mistook vulgar flattery for kindly attention; dirty old hags, who amused themselves alternately with fault-finding, and hunting game over their vile bodies; and squads of young men who were learning

their first lessons in life in a school where the common decencies of civilized society were set aside. In these ocean journeys the virtuous and well-disposed passengers have much to suffer, but, generally speaking, they pass through the ordeal with greater faith in themselves, and they learn that men are more indebted to the society in which they are brought up for the formation of their character, than to any will of their own.

From what has been stated in reference to the Emigration Society, it must be evident that as a benevolent institution its importance cannot be overrated; and it is well that all who have an interest in its existence should know its real character. The history of this institution during its early career furnishes another illustration of the manner in which men in power in this country outrage both law and justice when it suits their partisan predilections. When the commissioners opened their landing depôt their exclusive charge of the emigrants interfered with the pretended rights of the boarding-house touters and other harpies who were wont to victimize the passengers in many instances even before they landed. These people, seeing that their occupation was passing out of their hands, made several attempts to seize the passengers from the servants of the institution, and failing in this they endeavoured to burn the building. It is scarcely credible that in a city like New York, with a municipal organization, and a large police force, the commissioners of this really valuable institution were refused protection in the prosecution of their benevolent purposes, a protection which the humblest member in society had a right to claim. When the police would not do their duty, the commissioners sought the advice and assistance of the chief magistrate, but as that very worthy

functionary and conservator of the public peace had his own partisans to serve, who were allied with the enemies of the institution, he refused to interfere. The commissioners were, therefore, obliged to take the law into their own hands, and fight the vested-right ruffians with their own weapons. This they did while the police authorities stood quietly by. But though the boarding-house keepers and their rascally touters were finally beaten in their endeavour to burn the building, or otherwise destroy its usefulness, many of them still hang about the outside of the Garden, and continue to pick up such emigrants as may have been recommended to their paternal care by the Liverpool man-catchers.

Since penning the above remarks I have been favoured with a report of the number of emigrants who were landed at Castle Garden during the year 1864: 198,342 strangers have been absorbed in the American population during the short period of twelve months; how many of these may have volunteered into the army for the sake of greenbacks, or how many have been drugged into soldiers and robbed of their bounties by the civilized savages, who are ever on the watch for the arrival of emigrant vessels, it is not for me to say.

CHAPTER XV.

ADVICE TO INTENDING EMIGRANTS.

Dangers to which intending Emigrants are subjected at Liverpool—Preparations for the Voyage—Conduct on Board Ship—Settling down in the New Home—Need of especial Care in the Training of Children in America—Prudence recommended in the Expression of Opinion—Probable Disappointments—Class of Working People who should emigrate—Probable Influence of the Climate of America on their Health and Comfort—Annoyance caused by Mosquitoes and other Insects—Advice on the Subject of Diet, and on Drinking—Rate of Wages.

Liverpool is the great port of embarkation for nearly all the emigrants who leave the British Isles for the United States. When intending emigrants arrive at this port their minds are generally taken up with the voyage they are about entering upon, and in making the necessary preparations for laying in their sea-stores. People who are not accustomed to travelling are more or less liable to be imposed upon by the class of men who live by their wits. The port of Liverpool, during the last forty years, has been infested with gangs of heartless scoundrels, who have made a business of robbing innocent and confiding emigrants whose confidence they obtained by deception. I know it is next to impossible to pass through Liverpool in the character of an emigrant without being victimized in some shape or another. My advice is to avoid all those kind and amiable people who become

your friends almost before you are aware of it. They are ravening wolves in the clothing of innocent lambs, and would rob you of the last farthing if they had the opportunity afforded them.

To an intending emigrant, then, I would say, if you have time between your arrival and the sailing of the ship, purchase your sea-stores without the aid of a third person, unless you have a personal friend in town. If you have a family of children and intend going out in a sailing-ship, purchase at least one stone of flour per head, and as much bread as will serve you for three days. The flour will enable you not only to bake your own bread, but by buying a bladder of lard, a small quantity of spice and dried fruits, you can vary your food to suit the condition of your stomach. You will find a small crock of butter, a few pounds of dried bacon, and a ham if you can afford it, not the least valuable part of your sea-stores. You will also require soap and a few candles. The ship's bill of fare will provide you with a certain quantity of rice; a good many people from country districts do not know how to use this valuable cereal to advantage; a few dozens of eggs, a few lemons, two or three ounces of nutmeg, a quarter of a pound of cinnamon, will enable you to have pleasant, agreeable, and nutritious puddings, either baked or boiled. Three eggs, half-a-pound of currants, a little lemon, and a dust of spice, with water and salt, will make an agreeable meal. A certain quantity of oatmeal forms a portion of the ship's rations; people who have children will find this very useful for making pottage, using either butter or molasses as a condiment. To enable you to make your bread, you will require to purchase a sufficient quantity of baking-powder to serve the voyage.

If your family are in health the only medicine you will want will be such as will keep the bowels open; you can have nothing better than salts and magnesia. Purchase half a pound of the one, and a quarter of a pound of the other; two tea-spoonfuls of salts and a tea-spoonful of magnesia taken upon an empty stomach will be a sufficient dose for an adult. Those who can afford it would do well to take a small quantity of French brandy, which will be found useful as a sedative, after passing through the uncomfortable ordeal of sea-sickness. If a steerage passenger aboard an emigrant ship wishes civil treatment and the cooking of his victuals promptly attended to, it would not be against his interest to cover the itching palm of the cook's greasy hand with a little metal bearing the impress of royalty. Passengers who wish to avoid being snarled at and kicked by ill-mannered sailors, would do well to keep out of the way of the men while working the ship. Fathers and mothers who have grown-up daughters would do well to keep them from flirting with the sailors; young females are often deceived by the apparent kindly interest taken in them by seamen who have ulterior objects in view, and are not unfrequently ruined through their best feelings.

After a passenger with a family gets aboard, the first thing to be done is to prepare the berths, and as far as possible, make them as isolated as the means at command will enable him. This is not only necessary for decency, but will be found conducive to personal comfort. After this business has been attended to, all the boxes and other packages should be firmly lashed to holdfasts, either of the berths, or others which are most convenient. By attending

to this in a proper manner much trouble, if not serious loss, will be saved. I have seen passengers' boxes in the wild dance of destruction during a storm, when no hand could stay their career. The destruction of property is not the only thing to guard against; the safety of the limbs, and maybe the lives, of the passengers may depend upon their luggage being properly secured.

Passengers should never interfere with any of the ship's crew while on duty, never take part in a quarrel between the sailors, never hang round the cook's galley except when waiting to be served with their own victuals; they should keep their berths clean and economize their fresh water. Where there are several hundred people stowed away between the decks of a vessel, it is not likely that the common decencies of civilized life can be attended to as if the people were in their own homes. We are obliged to make the best use of the means at command to prevent our own or the feelings of our neighbours from being outraged, but this is a subject which can only be commended to the good sense and careful contrivance of those concerned. Passengers with families will find it very necessary to secure their property against the predatory habits of the dishonest. This precaution will be found particularly useful during the early part of the voyage, when all the cares, hopes, and anxieties of life are absorbed in sea-sickness. Petty pilfering is quite common aboard of nearly all emigrant vessels, and is the cause of much trouble and annoyance to the well-disposed passengers.

When emigrants land at the depôt at Castle Garden, and have passed through the barriers of that institution, they require to be on their guard against the vile hordes of thieving

knaves who are ever on the watch for "greenhorns." If their destination be the interior of the country, they should lose no time in proceeding on their journey, otherwise by lingering about New York they may be victimized when off their guard. The officers of the Commissioners of Emigration will instruct them in all they require to know as to the routes they are going, the manner of conveyance, fares, &c. It would be well for emigrants possessing cash to get it changed before leaving Liverpool for United States money, as it might save them from being cheated on the other side of the water. Those who can afford it should lay in a good stock of clothing; they will find the Old Country fabrics, as a general rule, more substantial than those of American manufacture.

When emigrants enter upon their new homes they will find almost everything connected with housekeeping strange; amongst their other domestic appliances the stove will give them a good deal of trouble at first. People who have been accustomed to open fire-places seldom take kindly to the American system of sightless fires; a little experience, however, will soon prove that the stove is a decided improvement upon the common grate, both for heating the house in the cold season and cooking. An ordinary stove may be purchased, with cooking utensils complete, for about sixteen dollars, which, for the general purpose of a small domestic establishment, is equal to half-a-dozen common grate fires. Such a stove will enable a housewife to wash, stew, boil, bake, and heat her irons at the same time, and, if necessary, she may cook for a dozen of people without inconvenience. Where coal is to be had at a moderate price, it is used as the ordinary fuel; but in the country

districts, wood is both cheaper and handier to be got. Settlers with families of children able to work, as a general thing, will find no trouble in obtaining employment for them, and the younger members can have the benefit of the free-school training, which, to people with small means, is a very important matter. There is one feature in the character of youths of humble parentage which is pretty common, and must be exceedingly galling to fathers and mothers who value the duty and affection of their children; I allude to the upstart consequence which a little education gives to the offspring of such parents. I have witnessed numerous instances where both young men and girls lost no opportunity in proving how infinitely superior they were to their vulgar old fathers and mothers. In cases like these,—

A little learning is a dangerous thing.

I think, however, where fathers and mothers know the duty they owe both to themselves and their children, and are always ready to teach them both by precept and example, much may be done to "keep them in the way they should go." It is a pitiful case to see young people ashamed of their fathers and mothers because they do not come up to their own standards of gentility; they do not reflect that men's condition in life, as a general rule, is dependent upon circumstances over which they have no control, and that they, at least, are indebted to those despised parents for the very advantages which they turn against them.

I would advise new settlers not to meddle with politics, nor to speak with disparagement of either the people or their country; never give their own country the least advantage when comparing it with America; never tell their neighbours

that they neither like America nor her institutions—or that they wish themselves at home again. The American people are exceedingly sensitive, about both themselves and their favoured land, and they are seldom troubled with anything like squeamishness in thinking aloud in the presence of strangers. Englishmen in particular would do well not to brag about the "Flag that's braved a thousand years," nor of the land where the great charter of the Constitution acknowledges every man's house his castle; neither should they boast of England being the birthplace and the cradle of social liberty! These are matters which may be left to the discretion of people possessing ordinary common sense; and those who do not know when to speak, or what to speak about in the company of their new neighbours, must just fight their way as best they can.

Many emigrants after settling in America feel disappointed as to the manners and habits of the people, and those who possess the means often return home. Afterwards, when comparing the value of labour in their own country and their humble daily fare with the superior wages and excellent food they had in America, the original discontent with their old homes is revived, and they again cross the Atlantic. This is more especially the case with unskilled labourers to whom the difference of fare is much greater than to artisans. Another class of people, though they remain in America, never feel reconciled to their adopted country, but continually yearn for the land of their birth, which seems to them the only possible abode of happiness. These, perhaps, are prevented from obeying the impulse of their feelings in consequence of their families having got anchored to the soil by marriage, so that they are bound to the country by paternal affection, or they

cannot raise the means of transport. Or again—and these are much the larger number—they have been so long absent from their own country, that though it is the warmest wish of their hearts to return, they are prevented from doing so from the knowledge that all their relations and old friends are either removed by death, or gone into the wide world far from the places of their birth. When any of the members of this latter class return to the homes of their youth, they are placed in much the same condition as if they were again beginning life in a new country among strangers. For these there can be no better advice than that they should cheerfully accept the facts of their existence, instead of indulging in vain regrets. The first-named class may, with more practical benefit, be warned to reflect well before they throw away their time and money on a return trip to England, which, in the majority of cases, can only end in disappointment. In a word, I may say to both classes, life is too short to be wasted in vain regrets.

Three classes of people are most likely to better their condition by removing to the United States. In the first place, I would name unskilled labourers who have been accustomed to a low standard of wages, poor food, and miserable dwellings. The second class consists of those whose social and political rights and liberties are in the keeping of their lords and masters, as in several of the German States. The third class is made up of men from the various grades of society in the Old World who have managed their business of appropriation in such a bungling manner as to make them forfeit the good opinion of their neighbours, and cause the administrators of the law to be solicitous for their personal safety! All these will find

a ready market for labour and enterprise in the United States, and with health, strength, and a willing mind, it is a man's own fault if he does not make himself a useful member of society, and secure many of the comforts and conveniences of civilized life to which he was a stranger at home. One condition, perhaps, ought to be named as essential to the success of working-men; they should bring with them youth and good health, so that they may be enabled to battle with the seasons until they become acclimatized. I have found the winters in America very different from those at home. The weather is continually subject to great and rapid changes, so that a day in January may be characterized by all the blandness of an English May, and the day following may send the mercury in the thermometer 20° below zero. It is nothing unusual for the people in the States to pass through all the climates from the equator to the frozen regions in the course of twenty-four hours. When the wind shifts into the south, the *snell* breath of winter becomes a soft zephyr. Were an English settler at home during one of these changes, he would look for the lark carolling his lay, or expect to hear the mellow song of the thrush. America in this, as in other respects, is a land of extremes. In the winter, people are either roasted in close rooms by unseen fires in stoves, or have their blood transformed into crystals in the open air.* It

* It may be remarked that notwithstanding the extremes of temperature in the winter seasons in America, the people, whether natives or strangers, are by no means so liable to take cold as in Great Britain. The air is less humid and the country is free from those parching winds which pass over the Steppes of Russia four months out of the twelve. The east winds, whose breath paralyzes weak constitutions and stays the action of the bronchial tubes even in the strong in Edinburgh, are perfectly harmless here.

is no uncommon thing for the drivers of stages (omnibuses) and street-cars to be taken from their seats, frozen statues instead of breathing beings. The exile from the land of Shakspeare, Burns, or Moore, who has passed his winter probation in this country, will sigh for the smiling spring of his home with her joyous train, and rosy summer with her perfumed breath; he may sigh on, or do what is better, cease sighing. If a man has health, sufficient food and clothing, he can train himself to fight Mr. Frost a fair up-and-down battle and not be afraid of the consequences. It is a trait in the character of this hyperborean gentleman that he consolidates everything in the shape of liquid he breathes upon, but it is very different with Sol while journeying between Cancer and Libra. During these three months he shrivels up men like so many smoked herrings, and his hot breath parches up almost every green thing. Reader, I have worked over a boiling cauldron with the thermometer at 95° in the shade, and wished myself in Nova Zembla, or in any place where the cool air would close up the myriads of fountains on the surface of my body which were running over with perspiration.

Your energies may be prostrated with heat until your work becomes a punishment instead of a pleasure, and you may long for the close of the busy day, when the wearied system can be refreshed by "tired Nature's sweet restorer, balmy sleep." At any time between the beginning of July and the first of September, the probability is, that your longing will be in vain, for during this period the vivifying rays of the sun will have produced millions of insects, which, whatever occult use they may serve in the economy of Nature, are scourges to men and to all domestic animals. Mos-

quitoes are ubiquitous, and to evade the company of these tormentors were as fruitless an endeavour as the attempt to fly from oneself. A stranger whose first visit to an American town is made during the summer would conclude that the whole population, with the exception of those tied down to business, had deserted the place, from the fact of nearly all the dwelling-houses being hermetically sealed against the light of day. With few exceptions the houses both in the towns and country, are furnished with Venetian blinds which open outwards in halves. During the warm season these shutters are kept constantly closed, in order to exclude, if possible, both the burning rays of the sun and the prying curiosity of the mosquitoes. The evil is but slightly mitigated by this contrivance, which has the effect, as a matter of course, of darkening the houses. The chief palliative is the free use of ice, which is offered to those who can afford it in a thousand combinations, from lagerbier to sherry-coblers. Were it not for ice, the butter in private houses would be turned into oil, and all sorts of fresh animal food would be imbued with new life. The ice-waggons may be seen with their crystal loads flying about the towns in all directions from May to the end of September.

You are a working man, I will suppose, like myself, and after toiling through a sickly, close, debilitating day, you seek comfort at home. On arriving there you find your house heated like an oven, while your whole system is out of order, and your stomach loathes the food prepared for it. You seek for ease by reclining on a couch, should you fortunately possess one, or you throw yourself upon the floor. Vainly you seek for rest. The detestable music of the mosquitoes rings in your ears. They fasten on your hands

and face: you strike out like a madman at some imaginary foe, and you tumble about in this condition until you make up your mind to go to bed. You lie down quite nude and draw a single sheet over you, but very shortly you find this more than can be borne, and it is cast aside. On the outside of the house thousands of grasshoppers, kitty dids, and locusts have joined in a chorus of the most strange and monotonous music it is possible to conceive; but you are accustomed to this unremitting pæan, and your attention is directed to the invisible enemy who has laid siege to your person. In the course of a few minutes there is scarcely any place between your toes and your nose upon which one or other of your hands has not descended with murderous intent. In a short time your skin is covered with red pustules, you are likely to lose your temper, but that would not mend the matter. You think wistfully of his Grace the Duke of Argyle's posts, but lacking these, use your finger nails vigorously, until, fairly exhausted, you tumble into the arms of Morpheus, where you obtain the repose of oblivion only when you should be rising.

In consequence of the contracted and ill-ventilated character of the houses and parts of houses occupied by the working-classes, you have another insect enemy to contend with, little less ferocious than the mosquitoes. The sleeping apartments in many of these dwellings are mere closets with borrowed light, and many of them being wooden erections, form rookeries for bugs, from which there is no dislodging them. These repulsive creatures make the lives of numbers of people miserable, when they should be refreshing their weary minds and bodies. Many a battle I have had with

these "blasted wonners," and never escaped without marks of their prowess.

In consequence of the decomposing character of the atmosphere in the warm season, you loathe the very sight of fresh meat; you therefore have recourse to vegetable diet. You eat peaches, plums, apples, water melons, mush melons, and the everlasting Yankee fruit-pies, and the consequence is that you are either dissolved with dysentery, or debilitated with dyspepsia. To relieve yourself from these evils you swallow pills, or take salts and magnesia to very nausea. If when having come to the country your frame was covered with a goodly stock of muscle and adipose matter, it is ten to one before you have been two summers in the beautiful land of the West, but you will be in a fit condition to personate the lean apothecary in *Romeo and Juliet*.

Notwithstanding these serious drawbacks to personal comfort, I believe that men who take ordinary care of themselves will enjoy as good health here as in the old country. Of course much will depend upon a man's manner of living. Generally speaking, the people eat animal food with every meal, both winter and summer; I have always followed my old system of eating flesh meat only once a day in winter, and taking it very rarely more than two or three times a week in the summer. To men who are engaged in out-door employment in the winter, I should say that plenty of animal food was absolutely necessary to enable them to resist the extreme colds to which they are so frequently exposed. As a general rule I believe the farm-servants are well fed; in the country, however, the people very rarely enjoy the luxury of fresh animal food. In the rural districts many of the

customs prevail which were familiar to me in my young days at home. In the fall the "mert" is killed, salted, and hung up to dry. In November, too, the winter pigs are killed and cured, during which time the people enjoy a treat of black puddings, or liver and fried bacon, and if the people are frae auld Scotland, a reeking haggis upon these occasions will grace their board.

I would advise every man who comes to the country to avoid drinking ardent spirits. Alcohol here, take it in any of its numerous forms, is a villanous compound.* I do not know what the character of United States' spirits may have been before the war, but little better than poison was sold to the people during my residence. It was equally difficult to obtain a glass of beer unadulterated with some narcotic. In the summer season, when men require liquids to compensate for the loss of substance continually going on through the organs of perspiration, lagerbier perhaps will be found more refreshing than any other liquor, and in the towns this beverage can always be had from the ice. Some would prefer good spring water, could it always be had; but, judging from my own experience, the constant use of water exclusively, when the system is being reduced by copious perspiration, is weakening to the stomach. If spirits could be had pure, a small portion now and then, diluted with double its quantity of water, will be found to allay thirst better than almost anything else. Total abstinence may be, and is, necessary for the

* According to the revenue returns in the remaining United States, 1864, 100,000,000 of gallons of spirits had been distilled, 90,000,000 of which had been consumed in the country; and by the same authority it was said that the people in New York consumed 600 barrels daily, Sunday included. At least a fourth may be added to the New York complement by reduction and the use of the doctor!

class of men who do not know how to stop when they have once tasted intoxicating liquors; but temperance, in my opinion, would be found the best safeguard both to health and comfort.

Many statements having reference to the value of labour in the United States have been circulated, but, too often obtained from unreliable sources, instead of being useful as guides to emigrants, they have only been calculated to mislead. In 1858-9 the late Dr. Cahill furnished his countrymen with a series of letters upon the social condition of the working classes in America; and in order to make the information as useful as possible, he compiled a table of the rate of wages in the various industrial branches within the scope of his inquiry. In making up his tabular statement it is not likely that the idea of unfairness, on the part of his informants, would ever strike the worthy doctor. In all likelihood they stated honestly enough their own earnings when in good work, but as they were evidently fast men in their different trades, their statements were not true in reference to the earnings of the bodies of men they represented.

While in America I have worked shopmate with men who could earn thirty dollars a week, and that, too, without any apparent effort; but it would be very unfair to hold up these men to the public as examples of the general body. An ordinary workman in my trade has quite enough to do, even under favourable circumstances, to make from twelve to fifteen dollars a week; and the same rule holds good in all those branches of industry in which men are paid by the piece.

Tables of the rates of the value of labour in America are very delusive, inasmuch as they rest upon the basis of those ever-fluctuating quantities, demand and supply. Under

ordinary circumstances, mechanics and artisans may calculate upon from two to three dollars a day; unskilled labourers from seven to nine dollars a week; boys and girls from twelve to fifteen years of age need never want employment; and servant-girls will readily find situations at wages ranging from five to twelve dollars a month. When food and the other common necessaries of life again find their level in the restored order of the country, it will be seen that the above values of labour are much above our home rates.

I would advise that class of my countrymen who emigrate to America, and have been unaccustomed to manual labour, to be upon their guard against the vile horde of swindlers who advertise in the leading journals situations for all classes of respectable and intelligent people. New York, Philadelphia, and Boston are perhaps no worse than London, Manchester, and Liverpool, in being disgraced by nests of these vampires; but poor men, looking for situations in the land of the stranger, will find it more galling to be swindled by these heartless scoundrels than if they had been victimized by the same class at home. Clerks seeking employment in America are almost sure to be disappointed. The ease with which education is obtained, even by the humblest classes, keeps the desk-market well supplied, so that strangers really have little or no chance of obtaining employment.

THE END.

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